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# METROPOLITAN PROBLEMS

*Lecture Series*
*Presented by the Drew University*
*Institute for Research on Government*
*In Cooperation with the Eagle-Courier*
*Newspapers*
*Fall, 1963*

*Drew University*
*Madison, New Jersey*

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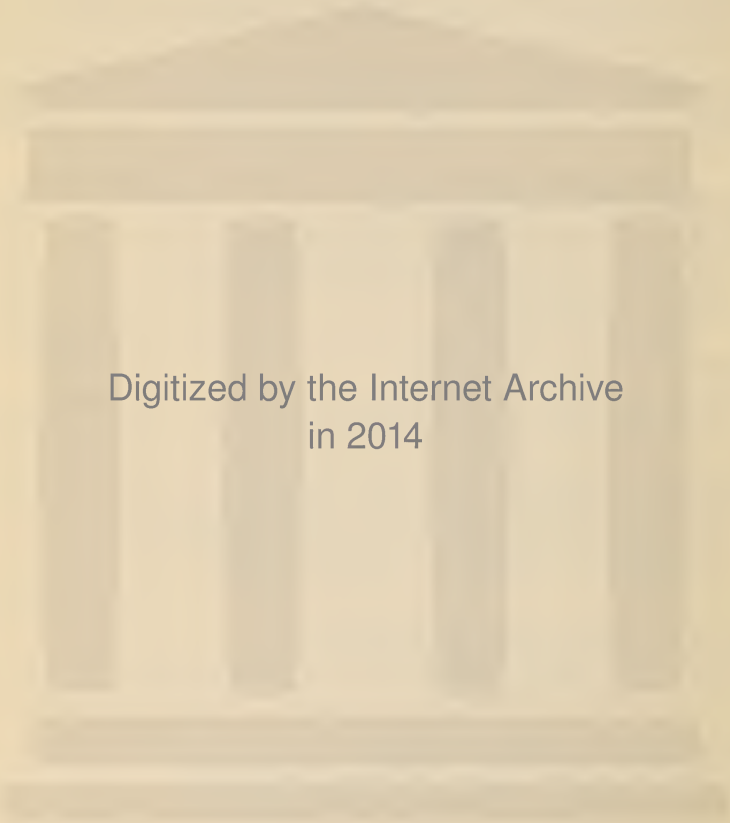
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# Preface

This publication grows out of a series of eight lectures on Metropolitan Problems presented by the Drew University Institute for Research on Government, with the cooperation of the Eagle-Courier newspapers of surrounding communities, on the campus of the University, Madison, New Jersey, in the Fall of 1963.

The initiation came from both the University and from leaders in suburban municipalities of northern New Jersey. Just twenty-five miles West of New York City, they were facing a confrontation with problems of the 'spread city' but were not as yet engulfed by the population explosion. They combined at the one time, therefore, a sense of involvement with a degree of objectivity, and, accordingly, could seek to visulaize the problems in their broad perspective.

Leaders of interested groups in the municipalities were consulted by the Eagle-Courier newspapers to help crystallize the issues, and citizens were selected to meet with each of the lecturers in advance to orient him to their immediate concerns. The result was a series of coordinated lectures, presented by reocgnized experts, geared uniquely to the problems of suburbia.

Henry A. Barnes, Traffic Commissioner of New York City, was invited to inaugurate the series in order to demonstrate, through an account of his attempts to regulate the traffic problems of New York, the dimensions and complexities of the difficulties, and, at the same time, the relevance of the City's problems to the residents of northern New Jersey.

Robert C. Wood, then Professor of Political Science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, followed with a comprehensive analysis of the political problems involved in the fourteen hundred governments of the New York metropolitan complex.

Succeeding lectures were devoted to consideration of specific methods being used to attempt to resolve some of these pressing problems of the metropolitan area: the public-authority device, Tri-State Transportation Committee, Delaware River Basin Commission, the Metropolitan Regional Council and the urban county.

The series concluded with a summary of the decision-making process in the metropolitan region by John E. Bebout, Director of the Urban Studies Center at Rutgers University.

In the interval since the presentation of these lectures, each of the speakers has continued to make significant contributions to an understanding and resolution of metropolitan problems:

Henry A. Barnes has reorganized the Traffic Department of New York City and has placed it on a twenty-four-hour basis of operation. He has planned a modern communication system and a computerized control of traffic flow.

Robert C. Wood was named in January, 1966, the Under Secretary of the new Department of Housing and Urban Development, after having served as the head of the President's special study group on urban affairs.

Robert G. Smith's book, Public Authorities, Special Districts and Local Government. was published by the National Association of Counties Research Foundation. He has served as consultant on

public authorities to the Temporary Commission on City Finances of New York City, and as a member of Mayor Lindsay's Task Force on Transportation Reorganization.

William J. Ronan was appointed by Governor Rockefeller in 1965 the first Chairman of the Metropolitan Commuter Transportation Authority which took over the Long Island Railroad. That Authority already has gained recognition as a prototype for the rehabilitation of commuter railroads and for the possible coordination of railroads and transit.

James F. Wright, as Executive Director, has helped guide the Delaware River Basin Commission through its formative years to a place of genuine importance in the four-State area. Its role in the regulation and coordination of water supply, starting in 1965, attracted nationwide attention.

Wallace S. Sayre's study of politics in the metropolis, Governing New York City, prepared with Herbert Kaufman, was sponsored and first published by the Russell Sage Foundation, and has been widely acclaimed. He more recently has been in England making a first-hand study of the new government for Greater London.

Alastair McArthur has established the Research Foundation of the National Association of Counties as a recognized force in the nation, with successive grants from the Ford Foundation for the compilation and dissemination of statistical data and reports of progressive developments in the realm of county government.

John E. Bebout, Director of the Urban Studies Center at Rutgers University, contributed, with Ronald J. Grele, a book, Where Cities Meet: The Urbanization of New Jersey, to the studies in the New Jersey Historical Series. He is a member of the editorial advisory board of the Urban Affairs Quarterly.

When the lectures were being prepared for publication, Dr. Willaim A. Robson, Professor Emeritus of Public Administration at the London School of Economics and Political Science, was serving as Visiting Professor of Political Science at Drew University, and was asked to write a Foreword to this publication in order to place the concerns of the New York metropolitan area in the context of urban problems throughout the world. As one of the architects of the new Council for Greater London and author of numerous relevant books, including The Great Cities of the World, he was in an unusual position to explain the broader ramifications.

Robert F. Oxnam
President
Drew University

Kenneth A. Haynes
Editor and General Manager
Eagle-Courier Newspapers

Madison, New Jersey
September, 1966

# Forward

## William A. Robson

Metropolitan areas are widely recognized as presenting problems of the greatest magnitude and complexity. Almost all University teachers, town planners, politicians, traffic engineers, local government officers, legislators, newspaper editors, and civil servants would agree to this simple statement. Doubtless most of them would also agree that somehow these problems must be solved if the metropolitans - that is, the people dwelling in these areas - are to enjoy a tolerable and advancing standard of life.

The 1960 U. S. Census listed 212 metropolitan areas containing a population of 112 million persons. The Census Bureau's method of defining the "Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas" brings into the category many relatively small places like Billings, Montana, and Laredo, Texas, which cannot properly be regarded as metropolitan areas in a large and highly developed country like the U. S. But even if we count as metropolitan areas only those with a principal city of 300,000 or more and a total populaton of at least 400,000, there were in 1961 61 such places containing a total population of 84 millions, or about 46 per cent of the nation. By the end of the century the total may well have risen to 60 per cent or more.

The problems which confront the great cities of America are almost precisely those to be found all over the world. The metropolitan area is a worldwide phenomenon, and it exists in the vast majority of countries, whether in the East or in the West, whether in developing or developed nations. The problems have arisen from similar causes: from the unrestricted expansion of the principal city, the immense growth of suburbs and outlying townships and human settlements of one kind or another, and their gradual coalescence. Vast numbers of people work in the core city and reside in the surrounding areas, with smaller movements in the opposite direction. An invading army enters the principal city on every working day for the purpose of enabling the people to earn their living and do their work. This invading army demands all kinds of costly and elaborate municipal services - water supply and sanitation, police and fire protection, highway services and so forth. At the end of the day this army retreats to the places of residence, which are to an ever increasing degree outside the city boundaries. One consequence of this characteristic movement is that the journey to work of the army of commuters has become an ever larger feature of metropolitan life, and is growing more costly in time and money and nervous energy each year.

Those are the more obvious features of the great metropolitan city of today. Arising from those features are a number of functions which in my judgment must be carried out for the whole metropolitan complex if they are to be performed effectively or, in some instances, if they are to be performed at all. They include the strategic planning of the whole area, the planning and construction of

major highways and bridges, the public transportation system in all its parts, water supply, sewage, fire protection, the police force, the ambulance service, the disposal of garbage, smoke and smog control, the provision of major parks and open spaces, hospitals, major schemes of urban renewal, slum clearance and comprehensive development, large scale housing projects for low-income groups, technical and further education - with finance as a necessary concomitant.

Some people may want to add one or two items to this list - it would be tempting and easy to do so. Others might wish to subtract one or two items;but broadly speaking, most students of the great city would agree this is a reasonable minimum list of the functions which demand comprehensive and unified treatment throughout the entire metropolitan area.

The lectures in this series describe some of the devices which have been used in the U. S. to solve such problems without introducing any fundamental changes in the municipal structure. Professor Wallace Sayre describes the origins and work of the Metropolitan Regional Council set up in New York on the initiative of Mayor Wagner. After a promising start this experiment has faded away into a moribund state. Mr. Bebout observes that a similar fate has overtaken similar bodies in the San Francisco area, the Philadelphia area, and the Washington D. C. area. The reasons for their inability to fulfil the expectations of those who established them have been diverse. In New York, for example, the Metropolitan Regional Council could not surmount political party differences arising between New York City and the suburban counties. I do not know of any country in which a large and sustained program of action within metropolitan areas has been achieved by this method.

Mr. Henry A. Barnes tells of his work in the important sphere of traffic control. It is not a very encouraging story. He says in effect that he has an impossible job because it is beyond the bounds of practicability to provide highways and parking accommodation in New York City for all the commuters who want to make the journey to work by private car. He declares that the traffic problem as it now exists in metropolitan cities cannot be solved and that the only possible alternative to the present chaos is to achieve an improved system of public transport. He refers with admiration to the subways in Stockholm and implies that mass transportation will not dislodge the private automobile unless it is far more comfortable and convenient than it is at present in New York City. But Mr. Barnes, as Traffic Commissioner, has little voice in providing the City with an improved system of public transportation serving the whole metropolis.

Dr. William Ronan discusses the Tri-State Transportation Committee. This body is not an overall transportation authority with power to "take over all transportation, integrate it, co-ordinate it, build new structures, and really do on a broad scale a comprehensive transportation operation for the region. The Tri-State Transportation Committee is not that kind of an agency." It is rather a body for inquiring into a number of ad hoc matters affecting the three States, such as rail freight rates into New York harbour or the financial crisis which threatened the New Haven

Railroad. Its members are appointed by the Governors of the three States and they sit together with representatives of two federal organs concerned with highways, transportation and planning. Local governments also co-operate at the local level. The Tri-State Transportation Committee is thus an instrument for bringing together officials from the three principal levels of government in order to examine various aspects of public transportation. It is obviously better than nothing; but no one could believe after reading Dr. Ronan's lecture that the Committee can hope to solve New York's transport problems in any large sense.

The political structure of metropolitan areas is succinctly described by Professor Robert C. Wood as comprising four basic elements. He identifies these as the government of the central city; the local governments of the outlying suburbs; the special authorities dealing with particular functions; and the mixture of federal, state, and local units which combine for the achievement of certain programs, such as highways or urban renewal.

In the chapter on The Politics of Metropolitan Areas Professor Wood explains the characteristics and working of these four elements with great skill and lucidity. On the whole, despite certain defects, he appears to be reasonably satisfied with the results. The only serious defects he mentions are the inequality of resources among the different parts of the metropolis, resulting in inequality of service in such spheres as education; the inability of the system to deal in a comprehensive way with the new immigrant; and its difficulty in facing up to certain economic realities in terms of urban development. I am greatly surprised at his relatively favourable appraisal of the situation. My own conclusions are very different.

The third of the components listed by Professor Wood is dealt with at greater length by Professor Robert G. Smith, who has done much first-hand research in the sphere of public authorities and special districts. These are the most widespread institutions which have been adopted in the metropolitan areas of the United States. They exist in limited numbers in England and certain Commonwealth countries, notably Australia; but nowhere outside the U.S. can one find anything remotely approaching the immense proliferation which has occurred in this country, where, according to Dr. Smith, there were no fewer than 18,323 special authorities in 1964 compared with 17,997 city or town governments and 3,043 counties. Since then the number has been increasing at the rate of about one a day.

In almost all the metropolitan areas special authorities are the dominant and, indeed, the only method of trying to cope with the problems confronting the great cities. The reasons for this are not hard to discern. The mass of small incorporated suburbs surrounding the principal city are strongly opposed to amalgamation; and they are unwilling to accept any form of metropolitan government of a comprehensive kind. Their unrelenting opposition to any reform of the existing structure is a potent factor in the rise of the special district. Moreover, these ad hoc bodies are not seen by local governments as a threat to their existence, even when they are appointed by a higher level of government. The special district or public authority

thus sidesteps municipal opposition. It also gains positive support by virtue of the fact that it is extremely flexible in determining the area of its operations, which can therefore by adapted to the technical or administrative needs of each function. It can also by-pass constitutional limitations on municipal borrowing which severely restrict municipal investment in most States. Finally, its dedication to a strictly defined technical job appeals to business executives, professional men, and well-meaning citizens who can see no reason why politics should be allowed to interfere with a straight-forward engineering task like building a highway or a bridge or a sewage system or a housing estate or a water supply system.

There are of course political aspects involved in the performance of all such tasks; but somehow the public has failed to notice that the special districts are usually nominated and are not politically responsible to the citizens they serve or to the legislature or to the City Council. It is difficult to believe that such vast and important areas of public administration would have been placed completely outside the structure of democratic government if the politicians and the citizens had been fully alive to what has been happening.

However that may be, it is a fact that many essential functions in metropolitan areas are now administered by ad hoc appointed bodies which are not answerable either directly or indirectly to the public; whose capital is often provided by bondholders who exercise a powerful ultimate control; whose function is seldom co-ordinated with other functions with which it may have an organic relation; and whose purpose is often inflexibly fixed for a long period regardless of the changing needs of society. Hence the well-publicized advantages of ad hockery are offset by serious defects. Most important of all is their influence in weakening the entire fabric of local government by withdrawing important functions from its scope.

One must, however, recognise the great achievements of the Port of New York Authority in providing a whole series of vital services in a highly competent manner. If the Port Authority had not existed it is not easy to see how metropolitan New York would have provided not only its port facilities, but the business, truck and freight terminals, the Holland and Lincoln Tunnels, the La Guardia, Newark and Kennedy International airports, and other important facilities which have contributed greatly to the well-being of metropolitan New York, But the Port of New York Authority is highly untypical: it is in fact unique, in the range of its functions, the area in which it operates, and the powers of veto over its policies possessed by the Governors of New York and New Jersey. The great majority of public corporations are confined within the area of a single city or other local government unit.

Leaving aside these considerations of principle, it cannot be asserted that many or even most of the basic needs of the major metropolitan areas have been met by the creation of special districts. The housing of low income families, especially Negroes and Puerto Ricans; the planning and development of the metro-

politan area; the proper location of industry, commerce, and other employment opportunities; the prevention of urban sprawl and ribbon development; the avoidance of ugly suburbs on the outskirts of the great city; the development of good public transport facilities; the comprehensive planning and administration of such services as police and fire protection, sewage and water supply; the preservation of open spaces and green belts - these and other matters requiring study, planning, policy decisions and action on a metropolitan scale are untouched by the forest of special districts and ad hoc authorities which tend to conceal, and even aggravate, the basic problems.

The solution of these vexed problems, according to Mr. Alastair McArthur, lies in the evolution of the county as the essential organ of metropolitan government. He contends that the county area comes closest of all local government units to encompassing the metropolitan area; that the expansion of county government does not threaten the survival of municipalities; that it is politically accountable within the state-local system; that its role as an agent of the state gives it an advantageous position in obtaining help from the state whenever necessary; and that it has at its disposal much greater tax resources than the great city. For these reasons municipal officials, far from opposing an extension of county government, are actually requesting it to assume responsibility for such services as airports, sewage disposal, water supply, civil defence and transportation.

Mr. McArthur points out that 133 of the 212 standard metropolitan areas are situated within a single county; and 61 cover only two or three counties each. I have already given reasons for suggesting that only 61 of the 212 standard metropolitan areas are qualified to rank as truly metropolitan cities. One would, therefore, like to know more about the relation of these 61 cities to the county areas in which they are located. The New York metropolitan region contains 21 or 22 counties.

The late Professor Harold Zink, in The Government of Cities in the United States drew a distinction between the good relations between small cities and the counties in which they are located and the bad relations between large cities and counties. The book was published in 1939; and even then Chicago could claim about 90 per cent of the population of Cook County. "With almost all the inhabitants of the county in the city" he wrote "there will be little to do if the county officials confine themselves to the area outside of city limits."1

City-county consolodation has been achieved in Denver, Philadelphia and San Francisco; and it is more than doubtful how far it has solved the contemporary problems of these metropolitan areas. In San Francisco, the entire area of the Bay is desperately in need of an effective form of overall planning and administration of major functions. The vital question is whether the really large cities can hope to solve their problems either by means of city-county consolidation or through the expansion of the functions of the counties in which they are located.

City-county consolidation will obviously not provide a solution if the principal city occupies nearly the entire county, as in the

case of Chicago and Cook County. If, on the other hand, there are many outlying incorporated municipalities in the county, they will certainly oppose wholesale consolidation. In that event separation usually takes place between the portion of the county within the city and the part lying outside its boundaries. Separation is easier to achieve than consolidation but, as Professor Harold F. Alderfer remarks, "it does not solve the metropolitan problem and the need for unified administration of urban services within the entire community". 1

Mr. John E. Bebout points out that twenty years ago metropolitan Cleveland was almost coterminus with Cuyahoga county; but today it has spilled over the county boundaries. He expresses the opinion that for most of the great and highly complex metropolitan areas city-county consolidation is no longer a fruitful approach, although it may still have its uses in the smaller and similar cities.

He directs our attention to the remarkable influence exerted by the Regional Plan Association over the physical development of the New York Region, despite the fact that it is only a voluntary body devoid of statutory powers. There are others, less well-known but of considerable importance, such as the Allegheny Conference on Community Development in the Pittsburgh Metropolitan area. Nevertheless, Mr. Bebout is cautious about regarding a voluntary unofficial planning association as a panacea.

The same author has some hard things to say about local government, which he regards as "irrelevant to the really important problems of our urban society," meaning those relating to metropolitan areas.

The chief reason for this stems from a deeply rooted tradition of American life which decrees that no incorporated municipality can be deprived of its independent status unless a majority of its citizens vote in favour of so doing in a referendum. I understand there is nothing in the constitution of most if not all States, and seldom any legislation, explicitly requires such a stultifying condition. But I have been told that the conscience of the American people would rise in revolt against any attempt to override the wishes of the citizens of the smallest parish on the outskirts of any great city. To do so would be considered undemocratic. The state legislature which has conferred the rights of local government and the status of incorporation does not consider that it has the right to take back what it has given; nor do state governments feel that they have a duty to see that the organization of local government is appropriate to modern needs. With their overweighting of rural interests, the State legislatures could scarcely care less what happens to the great cities and even when reapportionment takes place, this is likely to strengthen the representation of the isolationist suburbs in the State legislatures.

Wherever a serious attempt has been made to reorganise local government so as to take account of increased population, the territorial extension of urban growth, the journey to work, the concentration and deconcentration of industry and trade and the irrelevance of municipal boundaries laid down last century, the initiative has come from a higher level of government. Whenever a determined effort has been made to equip great cities with a

system of government able to grapple with the major problems affecting the whole metropolitan area, the reform has been imposed by a higher level of government and would not have been achieved in any other way. Everywhere local governments left to themselves bury their heads in the sand and refuse to face up to the facts of life in the twentieth century.

All the examples point in this direction. The metropolitan government of Toronto was constituted through the action of the Ontario cabinet and embodied in a law of the provincial legislature in 1953. It is now in process of being improved by further action on the part of the Ontario Government following the Goldenberg Report. The metropolitan government of Winnipeg follows similar lines. The new system of government recently introduced in Greater London was imposed by the MacMillan Government in 1963 in the teeth of the strongest possible opposition both inside and outside Parliament. It was based on a report of a Royal Commission appointed by the central government. The new machinery of planning and development for the District of the Paris Region is due to decisions of the national government and the French Parliament. The same thing is true of metropolitan Tokyo and Moscow. And if Calcutta obtains a more comprehensive and adequate system of metropolitan government, this will be due to the decisions of the West Bengal State Government and legislature. I could cite other examples.

The American situation is complicated by the inhibitions which effectively prevent the State governments and legislatures from taking any action in discharging what might be regarded as their proper sphere of responsibility. So in place of the State, the Federal Government is now stepping in and persuading local governments to plan major services on a regional basis as a condition for receiving Federal grants. This has already happened in regard to highways and urban renewal. The most recent example is found in the Department of Housing and Urban Development Act passed in September 1965. The new Department of Housing and Urban Development will be responsible for metropolitan area thinking and planning. It will have regional representatives in metropolitan areas to assist when requested in the development of metropolitan area problems.

President Johnson in his message to Congress on housing and cities of 2 March 1965 proposed that legislation should facilitate a Federal program to give financial assistance to help cities plan their growth, and to finance the acquistion and development of land in advance of need for entirely new communities. He asked for powers to insist on area-wide planning for growth to which the developments eligible for Federal aid would have to conform.

The new Act does not go quite as far as this; but it does require the new Secretary for Housing and Urban Development to "provide technical assistance and information, including a clearing house service to aid State, county, town, village, or other local governments in developing solutions to community and metropolitan development problems." The Secretary is to consult and cooperate with State Governors and agencies with respect to Federal and State programs for assisting communities in finding solutions to community and

metropolitan development problems, and for encouraging effective regional cooperation in the planning and conduct of metropolitan development programs and projects.

The recent actions on the part of the President and the Congress mar an important advance despite the limited powers conferred on the new Secretary. It means that in the U.S.A., as in Canada, Britain, France, Japan, the U.S.S.R. and some other countries, the national government has intervened in an attempt to bring order, rationality, overall planning, and a wider outlook than has hitherto prevailed in the development and conduct of metropolitan areas.

In applauding this new step its significance must not be over-estimated. The Federal Government appears to have no sanctions at its disposal other than the power of the purse, and money alone - or even money plus good advice - cannot achieve everything that is needed. There is reason to doubt whether the fundamental problems of metropolitan areas in the U.S. can be solved by anything short of a drastic reorganisation of the entire municipal structure, and in some cases by a modification of the State structure far beyond anything which would be considered even remotely feasible at the present time.

# *Transportation - A Key to Metropolitan Planning*

**Henry A. Barnes**

I might preface my remarks by saying that, having been in New York about a year and a half, many people ask me what I have accomplished there during that time. I tell them that traffic-wise, I have not really done very much -- but, boy, have I sold newspapers!

Now the discussion tonight seems to be indicated to revolve around the problems that are key to metropolitan planning. I think this subject covers a great many facets, covers a terrifically large area of interest, and, of course, many, many problems not necessarily having to do with the movement of people or traffic or things like that. I think that behind this whole matter are certain basic fundamentals in government that are interesting. As has been mentioned, most city officials are considered illiterate if they do not say the right things in their letters when they answer them. They are considered as being outsiders if they were not born in the city. The life of an official is not always easy, and yet I can assure you that it is interesting.

The great growing problem in the City of New York today is not one of how we are going to move the people about the city today or tomorrow, what new highways and bridges are going to be needed, how we are going to raise taxes to support the increases for the school teachers, how we are going to solve the welfare problems, the racial problems. The great problem in New York today is whether we are to paint a purple line on Fifth Avenue. You get considerable reaction to these things. Yesterday morning I got a letter which read: "I agree with Inez Robbe: you favor the murderous machines over humanity." Well, I do not think we do really; we do not have very many expendable taxpayers in New York, but if the occasion arose, there are one or two I might be able to point out.

I was in Hamburg, Germany, about three years ago, and being on my first trip to that country, and it being not too long after the War, the scars are still there, I thought that we should not speak of the War. I felt it had no place in my being there. And yet it did come up. Invariably it would come up and somone would mention that during the War Hamburg was a city that was 87% destroyed through bombing. And Professor Sill, who is the Minister of Transportation, said to me: "You know, Mr. Barnes, you can't justify war, no matter the reason, no matter who wins, no matter what the cause -- you can't justify war." But he added "You know, some good does come of everything. Now for forty years we talked about this new highway out here. We couldn't tear down homes and buildings and churches to build that highway. But you people came over and knocked them down for us. And now we're building a highway." At that time I was in Baltimore, and I pointed out that, heaven

forbid we should ever have another war, but should we, how about a little reciprocity? I have a couple of monuments and a few trees that I should like to have worked over a little bit for me. Now I only mention that, facetiously, of course, to point out the difficulties that we have.

I think in the whole great city of New York you could find no one who would argue that we do not need to move traffic better, we do not need better transportation, that we do not need so many things. And yet everyone says, "Well, do it, but don't change anything; do it on your street, but not on my street." I think the matter of bus transportation is one of the things that points this up more than anything else. Everyone wants a bus, of course, on the one day of the year when it is raining or snowing, when they do not want to drive their own car; but they want the bus on that day right at their front door. Any other time it should be on your street, not on mine, because I can walk a block to it. Any other time, except the day they want to use it, they are not concerned with what happens; but it has to be there that day.

In my area of traffic I find this so often, that people rant and rave, if you will, get quite exercised because we do not do things to help move traffic. And yet if we create a one-way street, it is terrible. If we reroute a bus, that is even worse. If we want to cut back a sidewalk a couple of feet, this is terrible. We suggested in Manhattan that most of the older streets are thirty-feet wide. Now on a street that is thirty-feet wide, with parking on both sides, you have one lane of traffic moving down the middle. But if a street is thirty-four feet wide, then you can have parking on both sides and have two lanes of traffic moving in the middle. In order to accomplish this, you have to take two feet off each side. Most of those sidewalks are twelve to fifteen feet wide. I saw a cartoon in the Herald Tribune one morning a week or so ago, showing a man walking down the sidewalk saying: "Barnes is going to eliminate the sidewalks." Since my office receives anywhere from 400 to 1,000 letters a day, depending on how much trouble I am in, I do not read all my mail. I tell people that I only read those letters marked "Personal". And some of them really are! But by taking two feet off each side of a sidewalk -- as was done on 36th and 37th Streets down in the garment district and you would never know it to look at the street -- people still walk in pretty good-sized groups down those sidewalks on both sides, or at least they do when they can get around the merchandise that is piled up down there -- the merchants are using them for business. But we increase the volume of traffic that can use that street by 100%. If we could do that on most of the streets in mid-Manhattan, we could do a tremendous job of breaking up the traffic jam. Everybody agrees that to get crosstown in New York you have to be born there -- there is just no other way you can get there. But do not touch a sidewalk! Do not take two feet off them!

Why, in Baltimore one time, in front of Johns Hopkins University, there was what they called the "birthday cake;" it was a large marble basin with a shaft and a bust of Johns Hopkins on top. Anybody driving through there was having so much difficulty just getting around it in the middle of the street that they never had a chance to

look up and see who it was. I found that if you asked 100 people, you could not find two of them who really knew who it was. They knew there was an obstruction there. So I suggested that it would look much more beautiful over on the Johns Hopkins campus. There was a nice green yard out there which was beautiful. And then I learned what a greensward is. That is something that architecturally is very beautiful and something every college in the country would like to have. It was unthinkable you should put a statue on it! So we moved the statue finally, after a great deal or difficulty, and I had a call from the former mayor, who said, "Hank, look, I'm an old man. I dedicated this monument back in 1937. I live on the corner. I wake up in the morning. I look out. I see John standing there looking at me." And he said, "I'm an old man. Won't you wait until I'm gone before you move this?"

I said, "Well, Mr. Mayor, five people have been killed on that corner in the last five years on account of that monument, and I don't think we can afford this. We have no expendable taxpayers." He said, "But, Hank, it was only five, and they'd be killed someplace anyway."

People want things done -- they wanted something done about that. But do not move the monument! do not cut the sidewalks off! do not do anything that changes anything! Frankly, I do not know how we are going to straighten out this mess, how we are going to do something about it. even if we can change nothing.

You have some very interesting philosophies in dealing with people. For example, take merchants -- and I have nothing against merchants except that they send my wife credit cards which I wish they would not; I think she has one for every merchant in New York, or at least on Long Island -- but merchants, as a group, are the most excitable people I have ever known. If all the dire things happened that merchants predict when you want to change something in traffic, if they all happened, you would not have a merchant left in the country today. I do not mean to be derogatory. I am just citing history and experience.

In Baltimore I had a pair of streets -- two-way streets -- they were about thirty-four feet wide; you could have parking on both sides; you could have one lane of traffic in each direction. There were about five blocks of business. And that street was so congested you just could not get through it because every once in a while, somebody had something in a store he just had to go in and pick up -- it was an emergency -- and had to double-park to do it. It is amazing how many emergencies we had on that street. But they did it. And to tell them they could not do it would be terrible. I mean, you would put some merchant out of business if his customer could not double-park to go in and pick up something. So we finally said, "Let's make these one-way."

In Baltimore I had to go to City Council to get ordinances for one-way streets and things like that. But I also had an arrangement whereby for up to six months I could make any regulation that I wanted to under my emergency powers. I tried for two years to make these streets one-way so that I could move traffic through there freely. Every time I would bring it up in City Council, they would knock my ears down. The last year we had seven pedestrians

killed by traffic going east on a street that I wanted to make one-way westbound. Now I reasoned that if it was made one-way westbound, it was less likely for a pedestrian to be killed by a car going east, but you could not be sure. So I waited until City Council went into recess. Then I used my emergency powers to put these streets in one-way. Lo and behold, things worked beautifully. But at the end of six months I had to have an ordinance making this thing legal. So I introduced the ordinance; the merchants came in en masse. "Why, you're taking the bread and butter out of our mouths, the shoes off our children's feet! We are all going broke." They said, "There's no traffic on these streets since you made them one way."

Now we just are not so stupid as we look, believe it or not. We made a few checks before we did this. We found that before, with the two-way street, there were 504 vehicles using that street, one of the main business streets, during the peak hours of a Thursday afternoon. When we made our next check after it was one-way for five months, at the same period on a Thursday afternoon, the same general weather conditions, and so on -- where they said there was no traffic on it, we found there were 940 cars now in an hour going through there in no congestion. They were going through so smoothly that there was no trouble. When I pointed out that the traffic was almost double, they said, "Well, that's the whole trouble; they're going by there so fast they can't see our stores." Even if it is good, they do not like it.

I do not want to draw on merchants as the major part of this problem, but it just represents the thinking of the people and the problems you deal with. Often if we have a street where we want to take the parking spaces -- oh, heaven forbid you should think of taking parking places from a street; why, you are really putting everybody out of business! Well, again you go out and you make some studies, as we did. In many cases, we would check all the cars out there; we would find out how long they were parked there; we would check the license plates, and we would find out to whom they were registered. And you know, we found some very interesting things: that almost every car was registered to either one of the store owners or one of his clerks. We did find a great deal of honor among these people. I would not think of parking in front of my store; I should park in front of yours, and you would park in front of mine. And we would find block after block, where there might be twenty parking spaces in the block, there would be one or two that were not occupied by a store owner or one of his clerks. And we would say "Do you mean to tell us that one or two spaces is going to support this whole block of business? Why, you said if we took this parking off we'd put you out of business; nobody would stop there. Yet one or two parking spaces support this whole block of stores."

Well, of course, they did not. We would take the parking out -- sometimes with considerable difficulty -- we did not always leave it out, but we took it out. Nobody went out of business who would not have gone out of business anyway. Now I think one of the things that the public, not only in New York, but almost any other place, has to decide -- and they are the only ones that can decide this--

is, first, do we have a traffic problem? second, do we want something done about it? If people really want something done about it, it can be done. I do not care whether it is your town, whether it is New York, whether it is Baltimore, Paris, Buenos Aires. Something can be done about it. And you would be amazed what you can do with a city if people really want it done.

Sometimes in a job like mine people do not know that they want this done, so we try to convince them. And sometimes we do it against their better judgment. When I went to Denver, as an example, the downtown area in Denver was a rather unique situation, in that Broadway ran through north and south; Colfax Avenue, east and west; and the whole downtown area was laid out at a 45 degree to that. This was done because somebody back in the 1880's who was laying out the downtown area decided that if he did this the sun would shine on both sides of the street during the day and melt the snow, and they would not have to shovel it off. So they laid out these streets at an angle, which created some horrible problems. Denver is the nearest thing to a New York in the West. There are no large cities between Kansas City and Salt Lake except Denver. There is nothing big--well, Albuquerque today is growing up pretty fast--but at that time, back in the late forties, there was no other big city between Canada and Mexico. And everybody comes to Denver, as they go to New York, to shop. You could not move around downtown Denver any more than you can move around the garment district in New York.

We went to the merchants. And we said, You have one of three things you can do: We can leave things as they are, but do not tell me your problems if we do; we can take all the parking off the streets and leave them two - way; or we can make them one-way, leave the parking on, and see what happens." Well, finally the executive director of the Retail Merchants' Association said, "Look, Barnes, we're sick of arguing with you; we're going to convince you once and for all that this won't work." So they agreed to let me take two streets and make them one-way and see what happened. Well we did. We moved in there fast. We retimed those traffic signals. We moved the parking meters. We marked the streets with three lanes. We made everything perfect on those streets. And we timed those signals so you would not even have to slow down going across there.

About three days later the same fellow came roaring into my office: "When can we have some more? This is terrific! Why, it took me three minutes to drive across downtown, and it takes eleven minutes on any other street!" I said, "Well, George, don't you recall that this wasn't going to work?" He said, "All right, so I was wrong, give us some more." Today every street in Denver -- north, south, east, west -- is a one-way street in the downtown area.

But, just to show you how people think, when I was at the Chamber of Commerce one noon, the director of the Chamber said, "Hank, I have a pretty tough problem. I live down on South Washington. Now I go west to the Boulevard, then I take the Boulevard (that was one of these streets like Broadway that just runs diagonally across everything else in the City) back to Washington Street, and down Washington Street to where I live. It takes me 25 minutes

and it's only about three or four miles. Can't you re-time those lights on the Boulevard so I can go through?"

I said, "Well, I tell you, George, tonight instead of going west and then coming back to Washington, go one block over, go east to 23rd, which runs right into Washington, right straight, they're both one-way streets. See what happens."

The next week I saw him. He said, "It's terrific! I got home in ten minutes. My wife didn't even have the potatoes on when I got home. It's fantastic!" But he said, "Hank, look, I've been going home on the Boulevard for twenty years. I don't want to change."

I am trying to point out the difficulties and the problems of metropolitan government, transportation, and the like. I think there are a great, great many well-qualified planners and people working in this field. I think there are many dedicated people, and people who are technically capable of solving these problems. But I do not think that anyone has quite decided and found out how really to solve these problems because particularly in the field of transportation (and you can put traffic into that general area, certainly), this is a field that is so much different from almost any other governmental function. Certainly you get people as a group who come in and tell the Mayor, the Superintendent of Schools, the Board of Education how the schools should be run; you get people who come and worry about whether you should have fluoridation in the water or not. But this is a bit unusual; you do not have everybody doing this. There are only certain groups of people who have done a certain amount of studying who have followed the schools. But when you get into traffic and movement of people, it is so different because this affects everybody personally and very personally. The woman whose child has to cross the street going to school is worried about how that child is going to get there. The person who has to drive into work is worried about traffic -- how he is going to get there; whether he is going to get there safely. This field touches people so closely that everyone of them becomes an expert.

Now I do not think that is bad. In my position in New York I have probably the broadest authority of any traffic official in the world to make traffic regulations. I could (facetiously, of course, but I have had a notion to do it), legally make every street in the city of New York one-way outbound. Believe me, there have been days when I have had a notion to do it, and be the first one out! But I could do it. I can sit in my office once in a while when I have a dull moment, which is not too often, and I can think: I am a pretty important person. Look at the authority I have. I can close streets. I can ban trucks. I can make pedestrians do what I want. I am a pretty important person. And I get thinking: now wait a minute -- I have eight million people in New York that know more about traffic than I do, so maybe I would better think this over a bit and make sure I am right before I do something. Because if I am not, I am going to hear about it. And it is a good leveller, believe me.

Of course, we get the crackpots; we get the people who border way beyond the ridiculous. And yet we get some awfully good ideas. I am kidded a lot about cab drivers in New York -- they are a vociferous bunch -- and yet we get some awfully good ideas from

cab drivers. They are out in traffic all day long and they see things - truck drivers, bus drivers, John Q. Public who drives to work and sees the problems. We get some good ideas -- and some of them are not so good. I recall one afternoon I had two occasions in my office within a matter of minutes, strangely; a man called, insisted he had to talk to me. I said, "Well, all right, I'm not too busy at the moment." I took the call. He said, "I'm one of five gemtlemen who are over eighty years old. We've been thinking about this traffic problem, and particularly the problem of trucks." Here's what you have to do. You must go over to New Jersey, about 50 miles west of the Hudson, and you must dig a tunnel; and you must go under the heavily populated area of New Jersey, you must go under the Hudson, under New York and all the boroughs, and make connections to the stores and bring those trucks back up. This will solve your truck problem." I said, "Well, I don't think it's very feasible. Thank you." And he said, "Now just a minute, young man. I have had this checked by competent engineers, and they say it is possible." I said, "Yes, engineering-wise you can do anything you want; but it would cost billions." He said, "Look, fella, you got a problem. Let's not quibble."

If he could have heard me quibbling about a few million, he would know what a few billion meant in quibbling. The same afternoon, half an hour later, a man came in and said that he would give $10,000 to my favorite charity if I did not agree that he had the solution to the traffic-accident problem. I said, "Well, what's your solution?" He said, "I have noticed, that you see a car going down the street with a young boy driving it. He has a charming girl sitting beside him. First thing you know, he puts his arm around her, she puts her arm around him, romance blooms, they forget about driving, and somebody gets killed or hurt. This man was serious -- dead serious. He said, "You must go to Albany; you must get a law passed by the Legislature that forbids two people of opposite sex from sitting in the front seat of a moving car."

Let us, for a moment, talk a bit more in a serious vein about this problem. Let us look at the metropolitan area as an area -- and I think it is well worth doing. Some years ago the New York metropolitan region was defined by the Committee on the Regional Studies plan. The area defined at that time might someday, or even today, be called the New York megalopolis. It embraces 6900 square miles, 16 million people by the 1960 census, 17 counties in New York City, 551 municipalities, 1467 units of government covering parts of three states: New Jersey, New York, and Connecticut. As defined, the region consists of, in addition to the five counties making up the city of New York, Orange, Rockland, Dutchess, Putnam, Westchester, Nassau, Suffolk counties in New York; Fairfield County in Connecticut; Passaic, Bergen, Essex, Monmouth, Middlesex, Somerset, Union, Hudson, and Morris counties in New Jersey. More than half the region is open countryside; surprisingly, about 2000 of the 6900 square miles are still farms.

And that is interesting. When I tell people that as Commissioner of Traffic in New York, I am responsible for everything from the

apartments -- high rise apartments and so on -- in the heights of Bronx, to the goat farms on Staten Island, they say, "You're kidding; there aren't goat farms on Staten Island. What do you mean, a farm in New York City!" Well, right out on 73rd Avenue, about a mile and a half from the town where I live, a fellow has a vegetable stand and he raises the vegetables in his backyard. What do you mean, we do not have farms in New York City? We have goat farms on Staten Island. People do not realize this. Now, of course, Staten Island's got some plans to eliminate this when they get that bridge built.

But a little bit about New York City, just as an entity. We have 6,000 miles of streets in the City of New York -- enough to reach from New York to San Francisco and back just if we used our own streets. If someone said, "Look I'm responsible for all the signs and traffic regulations and signals, markings, and everything on a highway reaching from New York to San Francisco and back," people would say, "What a fantastic job -- no one man can do this." And yet in the City of New York we have it right here. And everyone expects me to do all these things, and to know intimately every single block in the City of New York -- what is on the corner and what is here, and what is there. People call me up and say, "Look, you know about this corner." I know most of New York. I have driven over, or been driven over 50,000 miles in the last year and a half inside the City of New York. I have had three drivers. Actually, I have had six, but three of them are still with me. They work sixteen hours a day every third day.

The drivers in Brooklyn, depending on what area they come from, know that area pretty well. But, you get a fellow who lives up near the Navy Yard and take him down to the Bay Ridge area, and he is completely lost. And try to get him up to the Bronx, and he is not even quite sure where the Bronx is. And I have a driver who lives up in the Bronx, and he does not know anything about the rest of New York City. It is an amazing place for that reason, because while people do move about from home to work and so on, it would be interesting if you could ever make some kind of a census and find out what people in New York do in New York. What do they go about?

I remember a few years ago I was on a boat trip going around the Island. And we had a bus driver on there. And when we came up by Brooklyn, he said, "I live over there about two blocks, and this is the first time I ever saw Brooklyn from the water, and I've lived there for forty years." You will find people in the Bronx who have never been to Brooklyn, and vice versa. You can find millions of people in New York who have never been to Staten Island, and it only costs them a nickel over and a nickel back. Six million people daily ride the Transit Authority's vehicles. One million six hundred thousand people in New York own automobiles that are registered in New York. In the area of Manhattan from 57th Street south, 600,000 cars daily come into that area. On Long Island Expressway, we have clocked 165,000 cars in twenty-four hours right by the World's Fair -- and that was before the World's Fair was settled. And I had a man tell me the other day that he was out of gasoline for four miles on that highway and never knew it. Believe me, it could happen. If I use that Expressway, it takes me an hour and a half to

New York, I think, is unique, and makes the whole area unique, for this reason: that in most other large metropolitan areas people can just drive in without being tolled. You know, I think there is only one or two places where you can get in or out of New York City without paying to do so. I think there are a couple of streets up in the Bronx that cross over the county line that you do not have to pay on. But you even have to pay to get from one side to the other. When I went to New York I got quite exercised, because here I am responsible for the traffic in the whole city of New York, and yet I have to pay a toll if I go from my office in Manhattan over to Queens or Brooklyn. I have to pay if I go on the Staten Island Ferry. And if I want to get out of New York, unless I want to drive up on one of these streets in the Bronx, I cannot even get out of the City. We have a kind of captive audience there. And that makes it unique.

And it is unique because the people who live outside the city and want to come into New York have to pay too. I would not mind that if I got the money, but I do not. The Port of New York Authority and the Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority take the money. Coming in from the west you have, of course, the Holland Tunnel, the George Washington Bridge, unless you want to go up to the Tappan Zee. It is unique because once you get into New York, you have to go into a tunnel or over a bridge to get to another part. And you do have to use the ferry to get to another part of the city. That makes it difficult for people who are coming in to do business. It makes it difficult for people because it is such a congested city and people do not like to get caught in traffic and have trouble if they have to drive their cars in. And yet I have heard estimates - I do not know whether we have the exact count - but I have heard estimates that as high as 1,700,000 vehicles come into New York City every day from outside. At the Nassau-Queens County line, there are 500,000 vehicles that cross that county line every day on nine streets. Now, considering that the World's Fair is out there, maybe you can get a little idea about why I am concerned when they close seven of those nine streets at one time. It is one of those situations where the State builds the highways, and fifteen contractors have a contract to build certain segments of these highways, bridges, or paving, and so on. Each contract provides that one may close all or part of the facilities during construction. Nobody stopped to think that all fifteen of them might close their sections at the same time one day. And they have. The only way to get out of Queens was to go up over the Frog's Neck Bridge, and then when you got up in the Bronx, you had trouble finding your way out of there because they had not yet put the signs up on the Cross-Bronx Expressway.

These are things that make it difficult to travel about New York. Many people have asked me, "What are you going to do about the traffic problem? Can you solve it?" I told the Mayor when I came to New York, and I have said many times since then that I cannot solve the traffic problem, anymore

than I think, I solved it in Denver, or I solved it in Baltimore, or Flint, Michigan, or than anybody else can solve the traffic problems. I do know this, that much, very much, can be done to improve the flow of traffic in the city of New York, as much as was done in Baltimore and Denver. When I went to Baltimore in 1953, I heard about the man who got lost in Ohio while driving from New York to Washington trying to miss Baltimore. It was almost so. It would take you an hour and a half to drive through that city in the off-peak hour. Today you can drive through in the peak -- and not going through the tunnel, but going through the city streets -- in twenty-eight minutes. Surely it costs money. Things cost proportionately. In about eight years down there, I spent eighteen-to-twenty million dollars. That is an awful lot of money for Baltimore to spend on traffic problems. But what does the problem of congestion cost? And who pays it? You pay it, I pay it, business pays it, because it is added to the cost of doing business, and if we buy anything or do anything, we pay for it.

The only thing that is going to solve the traffic problem in New York, or Chicago, or anywhere else, is mass transportation. We just cannot build enough highways and enough parking to let sixteen million people a day in this area get in their car and drive anywhere they want to go, anytime they want to go, and park when they get there. It is a physical impossibility. It is an economic impossibility. I think this, and I have been called a renegade and everything else because I dare say there are other ways of moving people than highways, we need question additional highways. We need highways, of course, but those that tie into a coordinated pattern. The Brooklyn-Queens Expressway was started 32 years ago, and they still haven't got the tunnel under Queens Boulevard, so we have both ends of it come in here and stop. Try to get through there some morning when things are a little bit hot and heavy. They are finally working on it. I think in a year or so they might get it done. But we do need highways to take care of the people coming into New York City, the same as you need them to bring people into your areas around here because you live in basically an industrialized area where people come in from all over to do business. You have people who live here who want to go someplace else, want to leave the area for pleasure, recreation, business. You have to provide for that, because you cannot tell people that if they are going from here to Baltimore, or somewhere, they have to take a bus. I am sure Greyhound or Trailways would love it if you did, but I do not think it is going to be practicable. You have to build highways so that people can do this. You have to build highways within your area so that people can move reasonably about, but certainly not so that everybody can get in his car and go wherever he wants.

In the city of New York we have hundreds of thousands of people who need their cars in their daily business. The news media, salesmen, technicians, professional people, service personnel -- people who must use their cars to carry tools or other

equipment -- could not use public transportation, no matter how good it is. We have to provide for them. New York is a large tourist center. I have been told by the Tourist Bureau that 20 million people a year come into New York as visitors. Many of them fly in, but some come by train, bus, and other ways, but also many of them come in by private car. We have to provide for them if we want to keep people coming into this great city. There are equally hundreds of thousands of people who simply get in their car and drive in in the morning and drive home in the afternoon. You see them on the Long Island Expressway and everywhere else: one person in the car sitting there with arm on the back of the seat, smoking a cigarette, and listening to the music, and beating out a good old beat on the steering wheel, perfectly happy to go along three or four miles an hour, bumper to bumper, fender to fender. I got into an argument one time with a very prominent person who said that parkways were made for leisurely driving. And I pointed out that there was some of the most leisurely driving in the world on those parkways: three or four miles an hour. And it is so.

There just has to be a better way of moving people, because when you stop building highways -- I mean, right now in the city of New York alone -- and I do not know what the value is in the metropolitan area -- but in the city of New York alone there is over half a billion dollars in highway construction. The Verrazano Bridge alone is $326 million. They are putting up a $125 million highway around the World's Fair. You have the Cross-Bronx Expressway that is not completed yet; the Clearview Expressway is not completed. A half a billion dollars. The other day, Mr. Moses came out with a program of $800 million more in highways. A highway cutting right straight down across Brooklyn, the Expressway, tying in with the new Nassau Expressway paralleling the Southern Belt Parkway, which is carrying 107,000 cars a day now. Every time you build a highway -- and believe me, I am not against highways -- but every time you build a highway you take property off the tax gross that is gone forever. It produces nothing. It brings in no income, except perhaps that it moves people. And when you move people in, then you have to spend more money to build some place to put them when they get there. And do not think these highways are inexpensive.

When I was out in Denver, the Valley Highway was being built under the old urban plan, 50-50: the city putting up 50% and the federal government 50%. We were a home-rule city out there, and the State did not contribute anything - they did not have any authority to say. It was nice. But then along came Uncle Sam with his 90-10 money, and everybody said that this was wonderful! Why we only had to put up 10% of this and we get this beautiful highway; the federal government pays for it. But somebody forgot to tell them that when these highways are done, somebody has to maintain them. When they built that highway out in Denver, that Valley Highway, Denver did not have any storm drainage system. They got this highway done with no

drainage, and every once in a while out there the roof falls in, and it just opens up and comes down in buckets. They had a swimming pool four miles long out there in the depressed highway. Then they found they had to go about putting in some pumps. It took them a little while to get the sand and the mountains put back out of the highway and they found out that they had to irrigate the shrubbery, they had to clean the highway, they had to light it. And they found it was costing them four hundred and some thousand dollars a year to maintain about eleven miles of highway. Well fine, they needed that highway. But how many of these can you afford?

In New York, the modern signing on a highway, on a modern highway, costs about $100,000 a mile. Now once that highway is done and turned over to the city of New York, if those signs are knocked down the next day, I have to put them back out of my budget. The State does not contribute a nickel, and Uncle Sam does not. And if I get a bad hurricane that takes down most of these signs, $100,000 a mile has got to be spent putting them back up. Sure, they are fine highways; we love them. We are glad they were built, and we have a few more that are needed. But that is not the answer to the traffic problem.

In Manhattan we need about 50,000 off-street parking places; we are short that many. We have 400,000 "No-Parking" signs in Manhattan. Sometimes it looks like four million there, I am sure. Everyone agrees that we should construct off-street parking. The Planning Commission and the Board of Estimates have said money is no problem because this does not affect the debt limit of the City. I can have $100 million tomorrow to build off-street parking in Manhattan or anywhere in New York, if I can use it. But the problem is, that in building this off-street parking, I am not to move a single family, a single business, and not to touch a blade of grass in a park. Just where in New York can you build off-street parking without doing one or the other of these things? It is impossible. People want it. They demand it. If we were to build enough off-street parking in Manhattan to park these millions of cars that could come if they built all the highways that somebody has talked about, you would wipe out Manhattan to build parking, and then you would not need it. That is how facetious it can get.

Somewhere in the picture there has to be a balancing factor. One thing that is very important in this picture is that there has to be -- (and I think this metropolitan, or Tri-State planning group is the beginning of this) -- a group that can take an overall look at this problem; they can look at this thing and ask whether we need the Verrazano Bridge worse than we need another bridge elsewhere? Do we need a highway here worse than we need a highway there? I don't care whether it's in New Jersey, Connecticut, New York, or where it is, because everybody is going out building their own little pieces. So often I have seen the picture showing the different paint crews in two states painting in the middle of a road, and they end up about four feet off when they come to the state line. Frankly, it has been an amazing thing to me that that sort of thing has not happened with some of our highways -- that someone starts

building a highway out here, then finds that the other one is two miles over there, and never the twain shall meet. There has to be someone who can look at this -- not somebody who is going to worry about where I am going to put a stop sign or a traffic signal or how I mark the streets in New York, or how you do it in your various towns and cities and villages -- but somebody who can look at this problem as a metropolitan concept, -- an overall problem, involving 6900 miles and 16 million people today, and 20 million in another ten years. Somebody who can put these pieces of the jig-saw puzzle where they belong; somebody who can say, "Look, we're not going to just go out and build highways all over and then let somebody else worry about what they are going to do with these cars when we get them there." Somebody who can say, that this is what is needed to move the essential traffic, to move the traffic that has to come into the area or out of the area, and then say also, where we are going to build public transportation that is competitive to the private car.

What does "competitive" mean? It means that from the standpoint of comfort, convenience, and cost, it is competitive with the private car. And I know, particularly out on Long Island, that if you could have -- I do not care whether it is buses or whether it is trains -- a means of public transportation that would let a person get on that vehicle, sit down perhaps in an air-conditioned bus with a little degree of comfort -- (We don't always expect that everybody's going to get a seat, but they don't have to be jammed in there like sardines) for a ride that was fast, would take the person somewhere near where he wants to go, thousands and thousands and hundreds of thousands of people would use it in preference to getting in their car and jamming through traffic and paying a high parking fee, and sweating this thing out every day. It is amazing that in New York, as rough as it is on some of these subway trains, 18 million more people used public transportation last year than did the previous year.

Out in Kew Gardens, those trains are running on a minute-and-a-half headway -- the irreducible minimum between trains. Even so, people are still waiting, jammed to the gills, trying to get on. On a rainy day it is fantastic to see them lined up. They will do it in spite of anything. Just think what would happen if you could have some reasonable transportation.

I was in Stockholm about three years ago. I saw subways there that were so clean you could eat your lunch off the floor and not be worried about it. The trains were so quiet that, other than a swish of air, you did not know they were coming until they were there in the station -- beautifully lighted, air-conditioned trains. We are not going to do that overnight. Somebody has to pay for it. But let me tell you this, that it would be cheaper to give transportation away, if necessary, than it would be to tear down your cities and build highways and parking garages all over. And do not misunderstand me again -- I am not against highways. I am against just building highways for the sake of building highways to bring people in, one at a time, in a car, and then tear down more buildings to find a place to put that car when it gets there.

There is a very amazing philosophy about the automobile owner

in a great city. No one would think of going to the city and saying, I want to build a house, will you give me a piece of ground? No one would think of that -- why, they would be put in an insane asylum if they did. And yet there is not a single automobile owner in New York or Baltimore or any other City I have been in, who has any qualms at all about going to the city and saying, "I own an automobile; give me a piece of city property to park it on. It's my right and assured duty, so give me this place. It may be in the middle of downtown where property costs $200 a square foot. So what! I've got a car, I have to park it." And to the man who will tell you, you cannot park your car there because we need that street to move traffic, he will tell you that he is a taxpayer. I point out that I am also but I can not park cars anywhere I want. These are the problems that we have in the metropolitan concept of moving people. What are we going to do? How are we going to do it? And who is going to make the decisions?

Somebody has to make that decision. In legislatures it is difficult to make those decisions because you get into political problems. I have no quarrel with politicians. I had an agreement when I came to the city of New York that I was not a politician. I will not support a candidate; I will not contribute to a campaign fund; in fact, I have not even registered yet. When I do, it will be as an independent. Politics and traffic do not mix. I have respect for the political figures because they represent a segment of people. Their job is to bring the problems of their people to our Department, let us find out what the answers are, and take the information back to their constituents. Too many of these people think that because they are elected, they are also technicians. They not only want to bring the problem in, but they want to bring the answer in. That is where sometimes we get into trouble about paint and a few other things.

I do not think that anyone is ever going to solve this job easily. You have to realize that what pleases some, does not please others. It is going to take a Solomon. It is going to take a great deal of cooperation, a great deal of patience, and a great deal of selling, if you want to call it that -- some people call it education. I think it is selling; selling people on why these things have to be done. And even if you do that you get in trouble.

When I was in Baltimore I had a problem about trucks. Everybody knows that merchandise has to be brought into a city by trucks. They are very essential. They carry these signs: "If you bought it, we brought it" -- and it is probably so. But nobody wants them on their street. United States 40, on the west side of Baltimore, goes up quite a steep grade about a mile and a half long, and these great big diesel trucks were roaring up there in the middle of the night. I lived at that time about two or three blocks off that street, and I could hear these trucks in the summertime barking up that hill. It was unfortunate that there was just no other street you could put them on. And this is a United States' interstate route, U. S. 40; but I was willing to talk to those citizens who were complaining about the noise the trucks made.

Never get yourself in a position where you cannot talk things out. You may disagree but talk to them and try to remain friends. So I

invited this group over to my home one night. They came over, and as they came up on my front porch, one fellow squared off and said, "Barnes, I want to know why it is that you and your church can get all the streets you want, and the rest of us can't." I thought this was a little bit foreign to the subject of trucks, but I said, "What do you mean?" He said, "You know what I mean. We know that you belong to the Catholic Church down here and that's why you gave them a traffic light." I said, "Well, as a matter of fact, I happen to be a Methodist and a Mason." Well, he squared off and said, "Why then, did you give those Catholics a traffic light?"

I only point this out to illustrate the fact that there is no one, no matter how good the plan is, how well thought out the plan is, that is going to make everyone happy. There are times when we have to do things that people do not like. Any official, particularly a government official, has to make decisions he does not like. But you have to analyze these things. You have to try to come up with the answer that is the best for the most people. And if that is it, you have to make that decision. And it is not always a comfortable thing. It is easy to slough it off and play politics; let somebody else do it; let somebody else worry about going along with the gang. I mean, I could have gotten a lot more sleep in the last few nights if I had gone out and painted a purple line down Fifth Avenue. But it is the principle of the thing. And people are so likely to lose sight of this because they are people, because we are all people, and because we have our particular interests in things that we like and do not like, and do not care about the other person. That is why this super-whatever-you-want-to-call-it agency must be set up to deal with these transportation problems on a metropolitan and not a piecemeal basis, and decide that, these are the things that have to be done; and then go out and sell them, and have very good reasons for doing it this way. Then, I think, and only then, can we hope to get any answer to this metropolitan transportation problem.

# *The Politics of Metropolitan Areas*

**Robert C. Wood**

Our task tonight is a restricted one: to understand how the public affairs of our vast new metropolitan areas are conducted. Political scientists these days are less concerned with exhortation and recommendation than they are with analysis and prediction. Though on occasion we may lapse into the role of agitator, this is personal and not a professional undertaking. Our principal occupation is, or should be, to provide explanations of that system of human behavior that has to do with political power in the urban community: who has it, who uses it, through what means, and with what results.

Yet, though this assignment avoids moralism and prescription, it remains somewhat complex. To make a fair presentation of metropolitan politics without recourse to academic jargon, at least three steps are involved.

First, the folklore that typically colors popular opinion about politics needs to be summarized and set aside. Next, the essential facts about the components of the metropolitan system as they seem actually to function have to be assembled. Finally, the outputs of the system -- the end-products -- need to be identified. Afterwards the moral philosopher or theologian can guide you as to judgments, good or bad, that may appropriately be made.

Perhaps the best way to free our minds of folklore and separate fact from fiction is to consider apparently outrageous propositions. Suppose one tells one's middle-class suburban neighbor these days that his local property tax ought to be increased by a factor of 4? Or suppose one tells him whose house is up for sale that, in all probability, state or local or national government may soon enact a law preventing his discrimination among buyers on the basis of religion or race? Or suppose one suggests that the decisions made by local government in his urban area may have more to do with the prosperity, the economic development and future of that area than the decisions of private entrepreneurs? Admittedly, the initial reaction is likely to be violent. Depending on his state of mind, your neighbor may refuse you another drink, forbid you to talk to his wife, or phone the FBI. Yet, these are the genuine issues on the agenda of metropolitan affairs today--not the more simplistic notions of local government as a 'bundle of services' nor debates about the superiority of city managers versus mayors.

It is now a consensus, for example, of most distinguished economists that the productivity gains of the United States turns increasingly upon the quality of our education system, displacing the old formula of the combination of fixed quantities of labor and capital. And the quality of education, what kind, how much, is squarely an urban and local problem. Hence, investment in education via the property tax and other public revenue sources, may be the wisest

allocation of personal resources we can make. It is now also plausible to argue that Birmingham, 1963, did more than change the course of events in that one section of our country. Instead, that May in that City triggered off a continuing national debate about how the latest American immigrant and newcomer to the city is to be accommodated. The manner in which that issue is resolved, particularly in the field of housing, will, it now seems clear, be an important determinant of the style, the serenity, and the comfort of American urban living. Finally, it is increasingly apparent that the decisions metropolitan regions come to make about planning the locations of great universities, and express highway systems, water, and recreational facilities, vitally affect the pace of economic growth. They are magnets for new growth industries, peopled by technicians, engineers, and scientists with new demands on community environments. They take place alongside established factors of the availability of labor, market, transportation, and raw materials. These are not conclusive propositions, of course. They are debatable. There are peril points in terms of taxes at any level. There are limits, psychic and social, to which accommodation can be made with any newcomer -- Jew, Irish, Italian, or Negro. The expanding private sector still makes many more decisions that crucially effect urban development than government does. Nonetheless, they are genuine issues far removed from our old images of what local governments do. They force us to an examination of the capacity of the urban political system to handle these questions, to support them with some kind of rational information and findings of fact, to discuss them, and to settle them with some finality. Commissioner Barnes' presentation was, in effect, exhibit A, as he traced the options we have in building transportation networks appropriate to our great expanding urban complexes.

What do we actually know about this political system? How do we comprehend it? What kind of patterns of regularity underlie it? In the 'Old American City', the city of our childhood, the city of song and story, a few clear, simple folk images served as a departure point. That city seemed, first of all, manageable physically, economically, socially, politically. The boundary line between country and city was clear: a sharp break from field to city was not only visible, but its prime function was easily grasped. The business of cities was business. Getting and spending, producing, selling, exchanging, made Pittsburgh, made New York, made each of the great giants through World War II.

The city of our childhood also had a quality of excitement and optimism about it. It was a place where Horatio Alger triumphed. The young country boy climbed to the top of the hill; the girl from the lone, cold Vermont town, weary of snowbound winters and hot summers, came down to find her place in the spotlight. And though not all the would-be Horatio Algers found success and, though the stage-struck girl might be in great moral peril in the evil city, there were less spectacular benefits for most. From the tenements to the brownstones ran Samuel Lubell's trail of middle-class blessedness to provide more benefits, in better lives for city people than their country cousins.

Even the issues of our politics were simple in the old city: a

matter of good guys and bad guys. Everyone knew the bosses and the machines were corrupt, dishonest, and irresponsible. Everyone was persuaded that city managers in the new suburbs were wise. One could be a high-minded reformer by advocating that the business of government was to provide honestly and efficiently the necessities of orderly community life, and nothing more. If your city saved string in City Hall, if it had a personnel system that eliminated patronage, if responsible civic leaders pulled together, the model political system was in being.

Now, twenty or thirty years later, the old city is gone. Five thousand new urbanites a day are born into, or move into, our 200 great metropolitan areas. Neither the boundaries, the economic functions, the spirit, or the politics are so easily capsuled as they once were. It is hard to say, for example, where Madison, New Jersey, is: outer suburb, inner suburb, part of megalopolis not part of megalopolis. It fits only obscurely in the complex of 1467-plus other municipalities that make up the greater New York metropolitan area. It is hard to say too what the functions of central cities are. Downtown groups of businessmen, it is true, join hands with renewal experts to save the downtown, to renew or to revive it. But the precise economic activities they seek to attract remain elusive. It is even hard to tell many of the new newcomers to the central city, at any rate, that the old tenement trail from the lowest slum to the parquet floors of the Bronx is still an open road with ready access to the hardworking. And it is impossible to find a single overarching political structure responsible for various public activites of the new urban area.

So, one abandons the old folklore about the old cities. One grapples with the new spread city, encompassing many legal jurisdictions, responding to the thrusts of massive social and economic forces forever unfolding. And one senses the need to reorder in one's mind the pattern of human behavior.

One entry point into the new political pattern is to think in 'systems' terms and to conceive of four basic components: the old central city, the suburban sub-culture, the special functional areas of authorities and districts, and the great axes of pre-War among levels of government in our federal system that have now developed. Each of these has particular properties worthy of note.

So far as the central city is concerned, most of our current researches make plain the disappearance of the boss and the political machine of old. One does not think of the mayor in a typical large city in command of his domain; rather, one thinks of him as a 'cat on a hot tin roof ' tossed from issue to issue, racing from a strike of the long-shoremen's to an appeal for more funds from the state quelling a riot-- a man continually embroiled in a set of decisions over which he does not exercise decisive influence.

As political scientists have proved, in Chicago, in New Haven, in Los Angeles, and elsewhere, a recurrent pattern appears. A series of separate groups of decision makers emerges within each great urban city-- an elite concerned with schools, an elite concerned with urban renewal, an elite concerned with nominations and elections or an elite concerned with the tax rate. And in each of these areas of publication, different forces are at work differ-

ent men are influential, different activity takes place. The prudent mayor pauses to see if the elite cannot somehow arrive at a voluntary consensus. Then he blesses the decision. But no purposeful, hardbitten, ruthless political machine exists subject to the direction of a few. A plurality of interests, a welter of influentials, are constantly at work.

Outside the central city the politics of the suburbs hold sway. Here, the appropriate analysis derives not from plasma physics but international relations. The principal component is the little 'garrison suburb,' devoted to the status quo, using land controls of various forms-- planning, zoning, building codes, schools-- to divert the hordes of newcomers constantly appearing. Contentment with things as they are and concentration on the well-managed municipality is the predominant characteristic of the suburban political subculture.

Evoking all the symbols of democracy, the suburb may in fact have a less democratic process than the central city. While ward heelers no longer sit arrogantly at City Hall, the 'suburban establishment' arises in one community after another. The establishment may be partisan-- more frequently it is non-partisan. It is composed of people willing to devote their time, energy and good business sense to the affairs of the town. It operates prudently and wisely. But it operates usually with a superb display of parochialism. In suburb after suburb, respectable people order the affairs of the town.

Yet, their concentrated power is actually limited power. As the demand for education increases, as the state highway department takes land by eminent domain, as pressures mount from the outside, most of these suburbs find their real choices in public policy few indeed. They can raise taxes, set aside land for conservation, increase zoning requirements. Yet they are driven by these actions to employ public authority and control to an extent most of them would find reprehensible if practiced by the national government. Embattled, the middle class suburb today seeks to withdraw from the urban world about it.

Two other political sub-systems operate in our urban areas. One is identified by the functional programs that it carries out--the specific tasks it assumes in assuring orderly community existence. It evolved as our areas grew, water became scarce, roads had to be built, mass transit systems constructed. This system takes the legal form of the great special authorities and districts: in New York, Mr. Moses' once great empire of bridge-tunnel-park-and parkway authorities, the Port of New York Authority, and the Transit Authority. But every large area has this sytem, whether Chicago, Washington, Los Angeles or San Francisco. These agencies are responses to the resources available to the urban inhabitants: water, transportation, sanitation, parks. In terms of special individual programs the special authorities operate with great competence and efficiency, they get things done. But they also play a special kind of oligopolistic politics. The competition among these great and powerful agencies endorsed and endowed with their own resources is fierce. It provides fascinating headlines reporting great struggles far removed from the comprehension or control of

the average citizen.

Another version of the functional urban politics is represented in the public schools. Schools, being a separate and special concern of us all, early received separate status that seemed appropriate to the New England Puritans. Schools maintained this autonomy through the era of the corruption of the boss and of the party machine. They are now a separate system. School board members are elected or appointed to be responsive to the leadership of the professional school superintendent. A separate bureaucracy controlling the entry to its profession by certification from schools of education carries out the educational function. Deceptively attractive by the large number of women in its ranks, school bureaucracies can be surprisingly rough competitors in any political controversy. Making larger demands on tax resources, operating generally in semi-autonomous circumstances, they are another component in metropolitan politics.

Finally, a fourth component exists in the large urban areas. These are the 'vertical axis' of common programs linking together state, federal, and local officials. Perhaps the most obvious is the state-federal axis in highways, in which the Bureau of Public Roads and state highway departments combine forces to influence the management of urban affairs in the shape of urban region. The second is the urban renewal program, an axis joining city and federal government. Here a new breed of planners and urban renewal administrators, again located in a professional association in all three echelons of government, have their own particular brand of politics.

Each axis attracts its special actors, with their special styles and strategies. In urban renewal, the relocated tenant, the slum landowner, the businessman intent on new commercial property, the mayor who wants to build an image, confront one another. In highway politics, the association of state highway commissioners, automobile manufacturers, automobile owners, drive for more expressways.

There are mutations and variations in all the four major subsystems. In the Southwest and in the Far West, central cities have more authority to annex territory, and suburbs are less numerous and less autonomous than in the East. In the Middle West and South, the county is more important than the borough, the townships, or the municipality. But by and large, when one dips beneath the manifest chaos of the thousands and thousands of local governments rattling around, these patterns of political behavior become apparent.

What are the outputs of this system? What do the components accomplish? Their first product, and one often under-emphasized, is that of political stability. The systems maintain themselves and their citizens. We are not, riots, fires, and explosions notwithstanding, dashing headlong into metropolitan catastrophe. Granted the pressures of population growth, we will not wake tomorrow to find that water does not flow from the taps, that schools do not open, that policemen disappear. Instead, in the next few years our water supplies will become more ample and purer, schools will be better, policemen more polite and more

capable. In providing established, conventional services, the systems of government have made an extraordinary record of progress since World War II. Those who look upon municipal officials as incompetent second-raters, unable to meet a private payroll, do a disservice to the men who have served them well in the last twenty years. We should not minimize this contribution.

Second, the general system manages social conflicts rather well. We can poke fun at the 'garrison suburb,' at our own tendency to seek out like-minded people-- by race, income, and political persuasion. Yet, this is a confrontable, and for a time, an effective process of sorting out all the diverse groups of a large urban complex whose confrontation in the past often proved close to unmanageable.

This parochialism is not a long-run solution, for it breeds intolerance, boredom, and isolation. But, nonetheless, it keeps time with the stages of our new urbanization and allows more effective arrangements for human encounters to be made.

Third, the metropolitan system we know today, has preserved American ideology. It has maintained our commitment to the proposition that, that government is best which governs closest to home. Our natural penchant for access and representation -- in close contact among ruler and ruled-- is still fulfilled to an exceptional degree, considering the sheer number of urbanites today. And for American generations exceedingly anxious as to who they are and where they belong, increasingly engaged in the search for identity, these are important properties. Educated women cross-pressured between home and job in the modern culture; men told that they are grey-flannel cogs in great organizations; workmen told that machines do their tasks better, have need to find comfortable, comprehensible local governments and communities. These outputs all go on the plus side.

What are the minuses? All three outputs may be non-functional in the system's present environment. First, in terms of the original questions in this paper, the system has not achieved an optimum quality level in the services it provides. Put more simply, we have not achieved genuine productivity in the local public sector. Nor have we come to grips with the problem of fiscal inequities among adjacent communities. It is hard to justify the fact that children born in Hudson County have a measurably inferior education than those born in Westchester County. Yet this pattern of the inequity of resource distribution is inevitable in the present system across the nation.

Secondly, none of the sub-systems are equipped to deal rationally or effectively with the new immigrant, the Negro. Each is affected by his arrival. Schools wrestle with the issue of de facto segregation, suburban governments grapple with problems of fair housing, open access; central cities with increasing numbers of low-income families; federal housing officials with anti-discrimination measures. Parts of the great public problem of our generation crop up in each of the urban sub-systems, but none of them really deal with it head on.

And so the falling domino pattern of Negro entry into one community and then another goes on, exaggerated and made disruptive,

by gossip, slander, rumor. Anxieties increase, emotions displace reason. And costs --fiscal, social, personal-- mount exorbitantly.

Finally, the metropolitan political system finds it difficult to face up to economic reality in an urban age. It has yet to recognize the changing factors in location economics; and they are important. When one begins to explain why such disparate places as southern California and Ann Arbor, Michigan, have grown new factors have to be gauged: express highways, publicly supported, for example, that allow this generation of engineers to change jobs in the dynamic electronics industry companies within a metropolitan area once a year, but not change their house, and hence enrich the labor pool of a vital skill. Moreover, the amenities of an urban area grow in importance--the ocean, climate, the charm of a neighborhood, the quality of the public schools. These become strong drawing cards for attracting the industries and the professions an urban community seeks. Then, too, one of the secrets of success in the new science-based industries we are spawning is the existence of communication facilities, with ready access to technical and advancing knowledge. No great industry, in the modern sense, is built very far from a library or a university. The interaction between intellectual life and business life grows apace; unless a metropolitan area is prepared to invest in these facilities and services and expand its public sector, it is in danger of having its private sector decline. It is these issues that the present systems find difficult to face. Yet these are the fundamental challenges for urban government today; they collectively call for a broader role of local government under more comprehensive arrangements. They underscore the need for foresight, energy and intelligence in local politics, and a new public understanding and respect. Other political arenas, it is true, deal with more dramatic conflicts. National and international agencies and institutions carry the responsibility of ending the cold war, providing effective methods for the developing nations, and the host of visible and exciting issues. But the responsibility of local governments will not be so dramatic, but obviously is at least as great. For their performance will shape domestic quality and determine the face we turn to the world, our capacity to use affluence and abundance, prudently and productively, our compassion to our fellow citizens. This, in the final analysis, is the crucial output of the urban political systems.

# *Metropolitan Public Authorities*

**Robert G. Smith**

Despite the reassuring words of Dr. Oxnam, which I appreciate very much, I have the rather uneasy feeling that I merely am riding the coattails of the jetport controversy. I am not unmindful of the fact that had New York State not accommodatingly last week reactivated the suggestion of the Port of New York Authority that the best site for the new jetport in this metropolitan area of New York is that of the "Great Swamp" in this immediate vicinity, most of you would not have turned out this evening for a talk on public authorities. Instead, I should be talking about this subject, as I have been for the past eighteen years, to some twenty senior students of our College, most of whom would be here because of a rather stringent attendance rule.

My concern over the proliferation of public authorities does antedate the present controversy by a good many years. When we were establishing the Department of Political Science at Drew University immediately following World War II, and were surveying possibilities for the development of that field of study, we became aware of the advantage of the geographic location of the university. We are situated here, and you in the surrounding communities reside, in a natural laboratory for the study of government and politics in a metropolitan area. About us are most of the problems of the "spread city," especially those of the suburban towns, and yet our municipalities have not as yet been overtaken by the population movement.

One phenomenon about suburbia that we noticed as early as 1946 was that here and there in one community after another there were being established peculiar governmental agencies calling themselves, "public authorities." We selected them for special study, and since then have been conducting case studies of many public authorities.

These individual studies have provided a convenient vehicle for undergraduate students of political science, and for a number of years they constituted the assignments for a senior research seminar. More recently, however, as authorities have begun to come into our area literally by the hundreds, we have faced the prospect of being overwhelmed in our studies by these agencies, which in 1946, had appeared unique and perhaps transitory.

The extent of the problem with which we now are faced may be seen by reference to a map of public authorities we have been charting here at the University. It attempts to identify all public authorities within a geographic segment from New Haven, Connecticut, through Wilmington, Delaware, including the Philadelphia region. In the fity-two counties (or their equivalent in Connecticut) there are today some 600 public authorities. There may well be more than that, for they are being established in such num-

bers that one has difficulty in cataloging them. Everyday in the news are accounts of new, or projected, public authorities: the proposed railroad authority, covering eight States, from Boston to Washington, D.C.; the construction of the toll road from near Camden, New Jersey, to Atlantic City, under the new New Jersey Expressway Authority; the creation last month of the Connecticut Transportation Authority; the consideration of a public authority to dispose of property at the Raritan Arsenal, now being phased out by the federal government; the plans for an authority to develop the Meadowlands through which one travels on the way to New York City; the suggestion in the master plan of this Borough, Madison, of a possible parking authority for off-street parking; and the extension of existing authorities, or the establishing of a new one, for a toll road from Asbury Park, New Jersey, to Trenton. Those of you who were fortunate enough to attend the Regional Plan Association meeting in New York City yesterday, heard Thomas Goodfellow, President of the Long Island Railroad, propose an authority to embrace all forms of transportation for New York City.

Largely because of the jetport controversy, most of this audience is aware of the fact that the jurisdictional boundaries of the Port of New York Authority extend roughly in a radius of twenty-five miles around the Statue of Liberty. Not many of you may be aware, however, that within that Port District itself there are some one hundred other separate public authorities unrelated to the Port of New York Authority. Each of these agencies is semi-autonomous, and each has responsibility for an essential function in the metropolitan area. Taken as a whole, they are assuming many of the most vital governmental responsibilities for all of us.

Their proliferation is not confined to this part of the United States, or even, for that matter, to this country. They are today the fastest growing units of government in the United States and throughout the world. They are found in such numbers in England that the London Economist has referred to them collectively as "Authoritycin," or the "wonder drug" for the ills of local government.

They are developing rapidly in Africa where there is a need for regions of government larger than the former local jurisdictions, and the Ghana Housing Authority, and the Imperial Highway Authority of Ethiopia, are but two of dozens on that continent. Indeed, one could follow them around the world: the Greek Port Authority, the Israel Port Authority, the Amen-Israel Housing Corporation, the Suez Canal Authority, the West Pakistan Water and Power Development Authority, the Snowy Mountain Hydro-Electric Authority of Australia, the Teito Rapid Transit Authority of Japan, the Hong Kong Housing Authority, the so-called "autonomous institutes" of Venezuela, the Puerto Rico Resources Authority and hundreds more.

It is this phenomenon --the public authority-- that I propose to discuss in this lecture. In its relationship to this series, the discussion will concentrate on one of the four components of metropolitan government and politics of Dr. Robert Wood's classification in the previous lecture. He saw the four essential elements as: (1) the core city, (2) the suburban communities, (3)

special districts and public authorities, and (4) axes cutting through these other levels.

The grouping together of special districts and public authorities, as is done even by the Bureau of the Census in its Census of Governments, needs further refinement. Outside the conventional units of government, are found a great variety of districts, boards, commissions, public corporations, and authorities, many of which perform governmental functions. They have been crystallized for purposes of study and data collection into a category called "special districts," but more recently the Bureau of the Census is making references also to the term, "public authorities." These units grew up apart from the normal governments, and adopted nomenclature at will, with little, if any, relationship to that of other similar units. The reporting of statistical information about them by visualizing them as a separate category, known as "special districts", was a major step toward understanding them, but even that classification needs sub-dividing. A start in that direction, now so necessary, is that of distinguishing between the special district, on the one hand, and the public authority, on the other.

Both are units of government operating outside the conventional governmental framework but their sources of income are different. The special districts, such as the fire district, snitation district, and the like, tend to rely primarily upon special tax levies within the district. The public authority, on the other hand, derives its financial support principally from the issuance of revenue bonds which are to be amortized through the imposition of user taxes--tolls, fees, and charges for the use of its facilities. Even though the terms, "special districts", and "public authorities", are used interchangeably within this dichotomy, there are, regardless of their names, these two types of units of government outside the standard governments, one dependent on special tax levies, and the other financing itself by its own issue of revenue bonds which its facilities are expected to amortize.

The distinction between these two kinds is significant. Politically, the people within the special district can be a responsible constituency, paying the taxes for the special services they receive. In the case of the public authority, however, the responsible constituency is far more difficult to define: Is it the people living within the area serviced by the authority facility, or is it the bondholder living anywhere in the world? Or is it, perhaps, the user of the facility without whose payment of the user charges the authority would be unable to meet its commitments to the bondholders and maintain its credit rating? This is but one of many problems in connection with the public authority that needs further consideration.

It is significant that public authorities have developed outside the standard framework of government. They have come by default. One kind of authority, such as the Port of New York Authority, has been created to follow functional needs across existing governmental boundary lines which, for those services, have beome unrealistic. Because of the lack of accurate maps in the colonial days rivers commonly were used as designations for State lines. Cities, as market places for the expanding commerce, tended to be located on these rivers, and as the city spread out it could not be confined

to one side of the river or the other, and thus spilled over into two States on either side of the river. Unwilling to redraw State lines, even though that method had been suggested in the Constitutional Convention, the needs of the expanding cities could not be granted by any one State. To fill this breach, the public authority was adopted from the prototype of the Port of London Authority in England. For its functional purposes it could ignore existing boundary lines, and be superimposed over all units of government in the area, without disturbing their governmental or political organizations.

Still another kind of public authority has developed in the suburban municipalities through the fact that, even though these local governments were wholly within one State, they could not meet the staggering expansion of services required by the pushing of the population, suddenly after World War II, into their small towns. Simultaneous demands for water, sewerage, recreation, transportation, power, and housing, literally overwhelmed one community after another, and it soon found itself confronted with a call for necessities at the very time that it had reached the debt ceiling by which the State restricted its borrowing powers. The simple expedient for this local government was that of the public authority. Under general enabling State legislation, only an ordinance by the town council was required to constitute an authority for parking, or sewerage, for example, and the municipality could divest itself of these pressing concerns. For, once appointed by the town council, the board of the authority was free to borrow in its own name, through the issuance of revenue bonds, and its obligation would not show against the debt of the municipality.

The federal government had been encouraging this kind of agency since the days of the New Deal. In 1934, President Franklin Roosevelt had written all the Governors of the States to urge them to enable the local governments to set up what he referred to as "municipal improvement Authorities" without the power to tax, but with the power to issue bonds payable solely on the income of the revenue-producing improvements. It was under the stimulus of the President of the United Sates, therefore, that the authority device first was brought to the attention of the municipalities. Since then one federal act after another has encouraged their development by making available to them federal funds, in such widespread areas as airport construction and housing and redevelopment.

Within the public-authority classification itself, therefore, there are two broad categories: the one that reaches across existing boundaries to service functions that have not confined themselves to boundaries drawn some two hundred years ago, and the public authority with boundaries coterminous with those of existing local governments which have arisen to meet immediate needs occasioned by the influx of population into suburban towns from both the city and rural areas.

The two are quite different, and must be differentiated in our thinking about the problem. The natural tendency in this part of the country is for us to conceive of all public authorities in the image of the Port of New York Authority. It is that Authority

which, through its dramatic construction and planning, has caught the headlines. When the second deck of the George Washington Bridge was to be dedicated, for instance, even the planning of the ceremony itself was featured in a lengthy article in a national magazine. Most local authorities, on the other hand, come into existence unsung, without the awareness of most persons in the community. Ninety-nine per cent of public authorities bear almost no resemblance to the Port of New York Authority, despite the fact that they are called by the same generic term. Most of them are not multi-purpose, as is the Port Authority, but have to rely on the issuance of single-purpose bonds; they are formed within the same boundaries as the municipal government itself, and do not, therefore, create a more logical jurisdiction for meeting functional regional needs; they do not have even the veto check that the Governors of New York and New Jersey have over the Port Authority minutes; and studies show that they generally do not enjoy the efficiency that has characterized operations of the bi-State agency.

As early as 1914, seven years before the Port of New York Authority was established, the American Political Science Review had begun running an annual column in which it reviewed the development of what it called, "special municipal corporations" for the year. In 1920, the Review commented that "municipal corporations, the public corporations, continue to be a prolific source of legislation. In thirty-four states legislating in this field in 1919, there were 1,096 acts passed directly concerning 82 varieties of districts, which are essentially special municipal corporations." These corporations had both the power to levy special taxation and to resort to revenue-bond financing.

These local, single-purpose, authorities with boundaries coterminous with those of existing municipal governments, are being established in the greatest numbers, and it is they, and the cumulative impact of public authorities of all kinds on a given area, that warrant our attention. These are not mere administrative agencies carrying out policy determined by the town council. Rather, they are decision-making units of government in their own right. As Frederic Bird, one of the pioneer scholars in this field, has said, "an independent agency such as an authority, in charge of a basic service, that can fix its own rates, determine its own policies for supplying service and making extensions, and formulate and approve lone-range plans, holds an almost dictatorial control over the development of a community." Luther Gulick has pointed out that the placing of a transit stop at one block as against another can decide the whole business development of the two blocks. When one considers that authorities today include among their functions such basic services as those associated with parking, highways, sewerage, incineration, water, recreation, ports, transit, bridges, educational buildings, airports, housing, power, utilities, industry, hospitals, public buildings, fiscal, natural gas, and even atomic energy, the need for a better understanding of them becomes paramount.

In view of this kind of power held by the authorities in a metropolitan area, concern over their constituencies, their representation, and their accountability in general, lies at the core of the

study.

Originating, as they have, to meet urgent expendiencies, public authorities have had little time to consider these problems of representative government. Nor has the public expressed interest in such political aspects so long as the sewerage system was constructed, parking meters provided, and the highway surfaced. Efficiency, by the practical needs of the moment, superseded the more theoretical questions of the public-forum concept. Studies reveal that little attention has been devoted to even the matter of representation of authority boards.

Virtually unnoticed in this entire development has been the introduction into local government of the absentee influence of the bondholder, or, more properly, the bonding company. All governments, of course, have used revenue-bond financing, but never before have units of government become so completely dependent on this method of finance. Taxation and general obligation bonds have relieved conventional governments of such dependency. The public authority, however, stands or falls on its success in floating its bond issues, with the result that the "bondholder constituency" has become a new factor in local government. It is not uncommon for authorities to select for development only those functions which will be self-sufficient. They tend, therefore, to "pick the plums and shun the prunes," leaving the latter to the town council.

The extent of the guarantee to the bondholder necessary in revenue-bond commitments for an agency so dependent on the bonding companies as are the authorities, dictates such concern for the bonding process.

The extent of the guarantee to the bondholder by the public authority is this: Legislation commonly provides that authorities shall have the power by provision in such bond resolution to covenant and agree with the several holders of such bonds as to the construction, completion, and replacement of all or part of the system; the use, the regulation, the operation, the insurance, the disposition of all or any of the system; the use and disposition of any monies of the municipal authorities; the determination or definition of a system of revenues, or of the expenses of maintenance and operation of the system; and any other matter of course or conduct with which by recital of the bond resolution is declared to further secure the payment of the principal or the interest on the bond. Legislation goes so far as to stipulate that, in the event of a default on the interest or payment of the bonds, 25% of the bondholders have a right to have a receiver named, and he, in the name of the 25% of the bondholders, may run the authority in any way necessary to get the return on the initial investment. This is vast private power, you see, to place in the hands of a governmental agency.

By the same concern for the bondholder, a public authority committed to one specific function is dedicated to that function by his guarantee for the lifetime of the bonds; whether the function is needed or not, it has to be pursued. One scholar has called this "vertical functional autocracy." It simply means that once committed to that function by the guarantee to the bondholder, that service has to be pursued regardless of any developments during

the forty year period. We may have an illustration of this in the case of the surplus built up by the New Jersey Turnpike Authority. The Authority, committed to that one function, feels that it must use this surplus for its own purposes; and we have been unable even by proposed referenda to get that surplus from the Turnpike Authority for general use throughout the state.

Franklin Roosevelt described authorities as agencies "clothed with the power of government, but possessed of the flexibility and initiative of private enterprise." By the same token, however, without adequate supervision, they could come to escape the restraints of either private business or the government. They lack the stockholders of a private corporation, on the one hand, and an elected constituency, on the other. The Wall Street Journal once characterized them as "adrift on a sea of autonomy." Although generally recognized in the eyes of the courts, as performing functions of government, they fall in practice within the nebulous area berween the public and private sectors of American life, and, because of their bond commitments, practically are forced to assume the posture of either the private or public image which at the moment more nearly enables them to perform the function in this "quasi" area for which they were created.

The effects on existing local governments of the operation within their very borders of a number of such autonomous units, are only now beginning to become apparent. The most striking result is, of course, the fragmentation of local governmental responsibilities at the very time that the more complementary role of government is a desperate need. In resorting to special agencies to meet the most important functions of the towns and counties, one is relegating to the town council and the county boards only the unimportant, undramatic, housekeeping sort of functions. Furthermore, one is encouraging those who are interested in the more dynamic functions of government in providing modern highways, airports, and capital construction in general, to siphon their attention from the standard governments to the newer authority-device. It is not without significance that the so-called "better citizens" who will not run for public office in a political campaign, find a position on the board of a public authority congenial. The authority board directs a single specialized function--parking, housing, an airport--and the professional person who must think all day in his profession as a highly trained specialist, feels much more at home in such a framework than he would on the town council where he must shift to the thought-process of the generalist.

What is to be done? First of all, it is unlikely that public authorities can be wished away as transitional devices for meeting current needs which, once their bonds have matured and been paid off with interest, will thereby be dissolved. The terminal date for many public authorities is being pushed further and further ahead by the fact that, being involved in capital construction for an expanding metropolitan area, the initial bond issue, which pegs the life of the authority to the date of ma-

turity of the bonds, usually some forty years hence, soon proves inadequate to meet other capital requirements, and further issuance of bonds requires an extension of the date of dissolution of the authority. The obsession of the authority for its one function may encourage further such extensions of its lifetime.

Public authorities came to fill a vacuum and they will not cease to proliferate until somehow that void is met. For the suburban town, that means, for one thing, a reconsideration of debt ceilings imposed by the State. The Pennsylvania Bar Association recently issued a report of one of its committees which has become greatly alarmed over the use and growth of public authorities in Pennsylvania, where there are now more than 1400 of them on the local level, advocating a change in the State Constitution so as to "remove entirely any limitation on the amount which might be borrowed with the consent of the voters at a public election." This is an extreme suggestion aimed specifically at the elimination of the public authorities in that State.

For those functions for which we need larger areas of government I think we should use, where possible, our established governments, and one form being used to too little extent in this part of the country is the county. Where a public authority is serving a function of correlating the work of one town with another, it seems to be doing so often on a county-level, as a county public authority. Therefore I would give more attention to municipal governments to enable them to perform the local functions, but would turn more toward the county when the municipalities are unable to do this alone. I would then, looking further, examine the possibility of using the authority-device for larger areas. And here again I think public authorities have shown us the possibilities in larger, more logical jurisdictions.

The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations has proposed the establishment of "metropolitan service corporations", or public authorities on a metropolitan scale. These would be authorities extending over towns and over counties -- over a more metropolitan area. First of all, the authorities would be created by a majority vote of the people in the area to be served, with the resolution for the election coming from the city council of the central city or the board of commissioners of the largest county in the metropolitan area. Either could initiate the request for the public authority. The authority would then be authorized to carry out one or more of several metropolitan functions such as sewage disposal, water supply, transportation, or planning, which should be done on a larger scale over a region. The functions, or function, of the authority would be determined by a vote of the people in the service authority. The authority could be a single-purpose one, but preferably not. If it were single-function in nature, other separate authorities for other functions would be precluded from that area.

The authority would be governed by a metropolitan council consisting of the following: one member from each component county board; the mayor of the central city; one member from the mayor and councilmen of each of the three largest component cities;

and one member to be selected by the smaller component cities. The corporation would have power to impose service charges and special benefit assessments, to issue revenue bonds, and, subject to referendum, to issue general-obligation bonds repayable from property taxes imposed for this purpose. Here, it is suggested, are the possible advantages of the larger public authorities, with a built-in device of representation and control.

This proposal would need careful consideration before enactment, but it serves to suggest possibilities for the more effective use of the authority methods. Rather than serving further to fragment the metropolitan area, the authority-device perhaps could be employed, at least in a transitional capacity, as a vehicle for experimentation with larger, more logical, governmental jurisdictions for meeting regional needs. In the long view, it is the latter role, rather than that of their continued proliferation within local communities, which will determine the ultimate value of the public authority as a unit of government.

# *The Tri-State Transportation Committee*

**William J. Ronan**

It is with some temerity that I come and talk to you. You never know what is going to happen when you go out from home and visit in a new place because, believe it or not, this is my first visit to Madison. And I am reminded of an occurrence in the early days of the Rockefeller Administration when we had a request to the Governor to designate a speaker for the Maple Syrup Festival in one of our communities in upstate New York. This festival is very well attended, but it is always touch and go whether or not the maple syrup runs in time for the tapping of the trees and for there being enough syrup around for making the festival a huge success. That first year we persuaded one of our most distinguished Commissioners to go and address the group. And he did, and was very successful except for one thing: we had difficulty getting anyone ever to go back afterward because the headline in the local paper said, "Commissioner So-and-So Speaks at Festival-- Sap Arrives on Time."

In talking to you about the Tri-State Transportation Committee and what the Tri-State Transportation Committee is endeavoring to do, and describing some of the things it is accomplishing, I should like, first of all, to backtrack a little bit and just mention that in this metropolitan region of ours there has been talk of some kind of a transportation agency on a regional basis for as many years as I have been acquainted with the area, and many years before that. And there have been literally shelves of reports written on the subject of metropolitan transportation, all stimulated by the very great challenge there is in the area, transportation-wise. And there has been very active civic interest in, and pressure for, a regional approach, a regional tack on the problems of transportation in this region, particularly spearheaded by the Regional Plan Association of New York and its environs, and that organization deserves a great deal of credit for the stimulut it has given to thinking in regional terms here in our region. Having just returned from a trip to the West Coast in quite a different connection than my position as Chairman of the Tri-State Transportation Committee, I did, however, have a chance to renew acquaintance with some people on the West Coast, and again to be very thankful that we here in this region have a transportation nexus that, while it has its imperfections, is a great deal better than many of the other great metropolitan regions of this country of ours.

The origins of the Tri-State Transportation Committee have, therefore, to be traced back to the pressures from various public spirited groups and individuals in the region for some kind of an agency to handle the transportation problems of the region. Some of the pressures in this direction have been for an overall transportation authority to take over all transportation, integrate it,

coordinate it, build new structures, and really do on a broad scale a comprehensive transportation operation for the region. The Tri-State Transportation Committee is not that kind of an agency. I should like to disabuse you from the beginning of any concept that this is an all-embracing agency that's taking over all forms of transportation, coordinating them, integrating them, building new facilities, and the like. It is not. This agency dates back really to the practical experience of the governors of three states in dealing with the practical problems of transportation: Governor Rockefeller, Governor Meyner, and Governor Ribicoff originally, and later Governor Hughes, and Governor Dempsey in Connecticut. And the Tri-State Transportation Committee comes out, really, of the experience of the three states in wrestling with the problem, for example, of the Hudson-Manhattan, which it was my privilege to be associated with, from the state of New York's point of view -- Mr. Dwight Palmer representing the state of New Jersey -- in working it out, also with people from the city of New York (Jim Felt, who was then the Planning Director of the City of New York), the solution which we finally hammered out to the Hudson-Manhattan World Trade Center. It also grows out of the problems which New York and Connecticut had related to a railroad called the New Haven, which has been in a chronic state of financial crisis for many years and which threatened to stop running one October in the middle of a presidential campaign, and both Governor Rockefeller, who was campaigning for Mr. Nixon at the time, and Mr. Ribicoff, who was campaigning for the then Senator Kennedy at the time, had to break off their arduous campaign duties and meet and try to do something about the New Haven Railroad. And there was established as a result of their activity the Inter-State Staff Committee on the New Haven Railroad, of which it can be said that the Staff Committee probably is responsible for the fact that the railroad is still running, because the Committee was the agency that really persuaded the Interstate Commerce Commission to guarantee the millions of dollars of additional loans that made possible the continued payroll of the railroad for a very considerable time. We did not save it from bankruptcy, but we came mighty close to even doing that.

Also the Tri-State has origins in the fact that the highway departments of the three states have, of necessity, met at the state borders. They have had to work together, and they have been doing it informally. The informal cooperation was effective, and the Bureau of Public Roads worked with them from the federal level. But still there was obviously need for some kind of regional look at the highway problems. Another reason for Tri-State has been the growing crisis in railroad transportation, and the threat presented to this region by mergers that might discriminate against the region if they came to pass, and other possible railroad mergers that we think might strengthen the general transportation system of this region. Another thing that brought us together was a common interest in as mundane a thing, but as crucial a thing, as freight rates for rail freight into New York harbor. We had been subjected to discrimination for decades in this port

area because it was cheaper to ship from the midwest to Philadelphia, Baltimore, Norfolk, Newport News, and so bulk cargo was avoiding the New York-New Jersey port area and going to Pennsylvania and the south. So we worked together on freight rates, and we were successful there. We again got to the Supreme Court, and the Supreme Court sustained New York's case. And now our discriminatory freight rates are no more. So that there is this community of interests which has produced Tri-State.

Now before I tell you about what we try to do and what we are doing, what is the Tri-State Transportation Committee? The Tri-State Transportation Committee grew out of the experience of the three governors of the three states. They decided that these regional problems needed to be tackled not just on a study basis, but on an action basis, and that the problems had two aspects: one was the short-term immediate crises that were upon us, i.e., the Hudson-Manhattan kind of thing where the railroad was bankrupt, the equipment was progressively deteriorating, and the very service itself was threatened, a vital artery between New Jersey and New York. Or the New Haven Railroad was a similar situation. The governors decided that the thing to do here was to appoint a committee, an interstate committee, and what each governor did was to decide that he would name four people to this committee, and agree that the city of New York would be represented, since it has such a large percentage of the population of the region and is the nexus of so much of the transportation, by the chairman of the City Planning Commission of the City of New York. So each governor appointed four people. And they agreed that they would each appoint a personal representative; they would appoint a person who was the nearest thing to a state planning officer if they did not have a state planning agency as such, so that the planning function in state government was represented; they would name their Highway Commissioner; and they would name the head of their Transportation Office (or in Connecticut it happened to be the Public Utility Commission, which was the nearest thing to it).

So the Committee was composed not of people brought from outside of government, which had been the pattern in some of the study committees of yesteryear, but active public officials each of whom had a responsibility directly related to transportation or transportation planning, or who was directly responsible, as I happened to be, to the Governor for action on the program which was laid out. And the governors laid out a program which contemplated cooperation with the local governments in the area and with the federal government. So rather an unprecedented committee was established, with places left open for the federal government to participate -- three places in particular: one for the Bureau of Public Roads, which is the vehicle through which the federal government finances the interstate highways and matches the states on the 50-50 highways; the other place for the Housing-Home Finance Agency, which is concerned with urban redevelopment, urban renewal, urban planning, and which in more recent years has gotten into urban mass transportation; and the third, which was a later addition, but the place had been left open, was for the Federal Aviation Agency to come in. And the invitation was

extended to the federal agencies to participate, and they did. The Bureau of Public Roads accepted membership; the Housing-Home Finance Agency did not accept membership but agreed to have an observer, and the observer has acted very much like a member -- in fact, so much like a member that I'm sure you cannot tell the difference; and the Federal Aviation Agency has also come in with a full member of the Tri-State Transportation Committee. So we have a very unique kind of enterprise where you have federal government, state government, and local government working together as coequals, if you will. This is not federal government dictating to state, state dictating to local. Here they are sitting cooperatively on a committee to do something about the transportation problems of the New York metropolitan region.

In order that the local governments, of which there are a great number in the area, could also participate actively in the program, and in the spirit of the enterprise which the three governors set up -- that this was not to be a super-agency which was going to tell local governments what to do, nor tell state governments what to do -- local cooperating committees were provided for in each of the three states. In New Jersey and New York the local cooperating committees are made up by the county chairman of the Board of Supervisors, or the County Executive if there is a County Executive, as in Westchester and Nassau Counties; and in Connecticut, where they don't have the county system as we do in New Jersey and New York, the Governor named key local officials to the cooperating committees. This is the framework of the Tri-State Transportation Committee, and its strength is that it's action-oriented and that the people who serve on it have immediate responsibilities, and are therefore in a position to bring to the Committee their practical, day-to-day experience. Also, if the Committee asks for information, if the Committee has need of services, the Committee can turn to the respective state and local governments for assistance; and to a remarkable degree the Committee has been able to utilize the employees of the three states and of some of the local governments, and indeed of the federal agencies, on a lend-lease basis, so that we have been able to staff our Committee not only with some employees we have hired directly, but some of our key people have come from the state and local government agencies, and from the federal agencies. The Housing-Home Finance Agency and the Bureau of Public Roads have sent us excellent people -- from Washington in some cases, and from their regional offices in others -- to work with the Committee staff. This is the kind of an organization we have, and as you can see from what I have said, this is not an agency that has been superimposed over state government or over local government. The command to the Committee is to do two things. One, to meet the transportation crises that are at hand by trying to find the solutions to them, and recommending the solutions to the states, the federal government agencies, and the local governments concerned. And secondly, to try to bring into the transportation picture here in this metropolitan region more of a programmed approach -- a plan, if you will -- a planned approach to meet the problems of the future more

effectively. So this is what Tri-State is. It is a committee set up by three governors; it has a legal status. We are in the business of contracting for services. The Attorneys-General of the three states have all attested to our legitimacy, and so we have been operating now for a couple of years.

There is another reason for the Tri-State Committee which I should like to point out, and this is the federal government's approach to regional problems. Under federal law now, the states and the local governments in the regions of the country as defined under the federal law are going to have to come forward with regional "plans" for highways. They are going to have to have regional approaches for urban renewal. They are going to have to have regional approaches if they are going to be the beneficiaries of mass transportation grants for studies, and of cooperative grants, because the Congress has written into the Housing and Home Finance Agency's legislation, into the Bureau of Road's legislation, a condition that you are not going to get interstate highway funds, you are not going to get grants-in-aid, after 1965 unless you have established transportation planning on a regional basis in the region. This will be a condition for the receipt of federal aid. We have no choice in this matter. It is to the state's financial interest, local financial interest, because state and local government depend so substantially on federal highway monies, particularly the interstate 90-1 and the 50-50 monies. So this is another reason why the Tri-State Transportation Committee has come into being, and the reason why it will have probably some continuing importance.

There is another reason also which I would like to refer to, and that is the changed attitude of the people (and it is reflected in their governments) toward transportation; and particularly the changed attitude toward the common carriers -- the railroads in particular --but the bus lines, and the water lines, and the air lines to a very considerable extent. We have come 180 degrees almost in our attitude toward common carriers. The prevailing attitude of the late nineteenth century, which lasted too far into the twentieth century for our own good, was that these common carriers -- the railroads, etc. -- had to be regulated very strictly in the public interest as it was then forseen. And the result was a very negative approach ultimately. While there was good and solid reason for the kind of regulation that might have been imposed originally, it tended to become rather a millstone around the neck of the railroads in particular, and the combination of federal and state regulation of this negative character plus, in all honesty, not too much enlightenment in the management of the common carriers themselves, produced a situation where we did not have a system of transportation that was as viable financially, nor as viable in terms of its capacity to meet the needs of the time, as it should have been. And so we now have come almost 180 degrees where we are now trying to do something positively to promote good transportation, whereas before we were trying to shackle, in the public interest, the common carriers in order to compel them to follow certain patterns. Of course our principal concern was rates, but also standards of service. And you and I know the story of carriers being forced

to run trains with just a handful of people on them, and so on, undermining their revenue structure, and also being prevented for other reasons from entering into integrated transportation arrangements where a railroad could operate a bus line, and could operate a barge line, and so on. That was impossible in most cases under our law because Congress had forbidden it (going back to the Panama Canal Act of 1912). So we have come to a more positive approach. And the Tri-State Transportation Committee has been charged with positively doing something about the current crisis in transportation -- and doing something about the long-range outlook for transportation.

Let me refer to the second phase of our activity first: the long-range transportation, land-use study which the Tri-State Transportation Committee has undertaken. What are we trying to do? Some of you may have had one of our interviewers knock on your door with a questionnaire asking you who lives in the family, whether they go to school, and if they go to school do they go by bus, and if you are going to the office -- you gentlemen in the room -- do you take a railroad, do you take a bus, do you drive your car, what's your route, and so on -- a very elaborate questionnaire. We are tapping 50,000 dwellings in this metropolitan region to get the picture of the travel movements. Why are we doing it? We want to know what transportation people are currently using. We need to know this for getting a picture of what transportation people actually use in this region. Believe it or not, we do not know today. We are finding out. We need to know the relationship between transportation and land use. We need to know what a residential area of single-family dwellings means in terms of demand for regional transportation. We need to know what apartment house development means in terms of greater density, and what impact that has on transportation. We need to know what shopping centers mean in terms of transportation demand. We need to know what industry locations mean in terms of transportation. These things we are finding out. We are trying to find this out and also to project what the needs are, not only for today, in the light of the information we are getting, but also what the pattern of need will be twenty-five years from now -- and hopefully then be able to suggest some alternatives for trying to meet today's and tomorrow's needs. So we are engaged in a vast undertaking, because the relationship between where people live, and where they work, and where they play, and where they go to school, and transportation is vital. And where goods are moved from factory to factory, to warehouse, to retailer, and to consumer, are vital pieces of information. And so we are engaged in a survey. Fifty thousand dwellings are the subject of our survey, and in addition to that we are stopping cars on highways at certain points, interviewing the drivers to find non-residents, find out where they are going, what route they use. Our interviewers are on trains interviewing people; they are on bus lines from time to time, ferryboats. They are interviewing taxi drivers, truck drivers; we are interviewing pedestrians in certain areas. There are in this metropolitan region, we estimate, some 27,000,000 daily

personal trips made. We are trying to get a sample of them. There are 12 to 15 million vehicular journeys per day made in this metropolitan region. We're trying to get a picture -- it is like taking a flashlight picture on one day -- of what is the movement. This is what we are finding out. We are very encouraged. We have had some young people from the schools and colleges -- some here from Drew, I learned tonight -- who have been working with us during the summer holiday learning something about government in a practical way, working as paid employees, learning about the business of surveys.

We are also looking at the land use. We have to know what the land use in this vast region of ours is. We are looking at the buildings on the land in 150,000 blocks we've set out, in the 8,000 square miles that make up this area, to give you some idea of the scope. This we need to know to see what the traffic demands of today are, and, with population projections of the future which have been made, we will be able, we think, to do a certain amount of predicting as to the future. We need to know also what the transportation facilities are. We are surveying transportation facilities at the same time, so we are getting all three ingredients: travel movement, the buildings and the land, and the transportation facilities. We are looking at the 15,000 miles of major streets and highways in this region. I am only talking about the major ones -- those with regional significance; we're ignoring the minor ones. We are looking at all the railroad facilities, airports, ferries, and the like. This will give us a basis for reporting back to the governors, to the local governments, to the federal government, and to you, on what is the present relationship between transportation and land use and population, and on the basis of that, through the kind of projective techniques which have been devised and are being devised, we hope to be able to give you a picture of what is likely to be in the years ahead -- to a maximum of twenty-five years. And then, hopefully, in the way in which we solve problems on a cooperative basis, the governments concerned --local, state, and federal -- can decide what to do. The Tri-State Transportation Committee will not decide for government what it should do. This is not our function. We can point out alternatives, but we are not the super-government that is going to tell people what to do.

The size of the undertaking is impressive, perhaps, to you. It is the largest undertaking of its kind ever, and there have been similar studies made in Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Washington, D.C., and Seattle, Washington, and if you put all of them together they do not approximate the size of the one we have undertaken. This is our long-range transportation planning-land use study.

In the meantime, we are pretty busy with what we call an immediate action program. Because there are problems that have to be met -- some of them have been: The H&M World Trade Center we hope the Court will uphold, and that will be that -- but we are working very actively on the current transportation needs as we see them between now and 1970, and where immediate action is needed, to try to get action. Already we have put

out the first regional highway report that has ever been put out. This shows the regional highways -- those which are completed, those which are projected, and the state in which those projected at the present time are: whether they are just in the planning stage, or they are not even in the planning stage; they are just a line on a map. We have conducted what we call a highway and transportation study. We hope to tell you before too long, through our respective highway departments, whether the highways as planned will be adequate for 1970 or whether there ought to be some adjustment. At least we shall be able to point up the facts, and the decisions can be made therefrom. We have put out a report on railroad commuter car equipment; we have shown the age of the cars; we have shown the need for new equipment. This is the first time this has ever been done.

The second phase of this study is underway. We are hoping to get some better agreement among railroads so that we can interchange commuter car equipment. The railroads have taken, generally, the position that transferability is not easy, and in some cases impossible. But we do not rest with this. We have learned in the course of this Railroad Equipment Report that if the $500 million which was in the Mass Transportation Bill for mass transportation aid to local governments was available, we could have used it all in the New York metropolitan area for new commuter car equipment. Such would be the cost of replacing with modern, air-conditioned equipment, the commuter rail facilities. We have also done something else. We have gotten behind the facade of cost figures on commuter railroads. Very early in this business we discovered that there were those who stated that commuter costs were the prime cause of the deficits on certain of our railroads. The first of the railroads we heard this from, with great lament, was the New Haven. So we had a cost study made, and we found that the commuter deficit was not $9,000,000 as had been alleged by the former president of the New Haven Railroad, but on a strict peel-off basis, $400,000 per year. There is a little difference between $9,000,000 and $400,000. This is not to say that you cannot charge certain other things against the commuter program -- I mean the commuter operation -- if you are going to modernize the facilities. But this was a very wholesome figure to get because it puts in perspective the commuter service in relation to long-distance passenger service, and to freight service. And when we were able to point out to the New Haven Railroad trustees that $400,000 was the deficit we would attribute -- not we, but a recognized cost accountant in the railroad cost business, recognized by the railroads for his outstanding ability, puts it at this figure -- and that the deficit from long distance passenger service was $7,000,000, and from the freight business was $9,000,000 per annum, it puts the whole railroad picture as it relates to the commuter in a little different perspective. Cost studies are being made on all of the commuter railroads in this region through the efforts of Tri-State and the cooperation of the Office of Transportation in New York State, and the Transportation Division of the New Jersey Highway Department. We will know the cost of commuter service.

We are also busily engaged in trying to improve rail service

while we are looking at these cost factors. We are trying to get more coordinated rail service. We are trying to move along the idea of having in Secaucus a transfer point from the former H & M, (now called PATH -- I can never get used to it, even though I played a role in creating it), where you will be able to change from Port Authority's Hudson Tube operation to the Erie-Lackawanna and to the Pennsylvania without leaving the platform. This is our hope. We are hoping for additional transfer facilities -- improved transfer facilities -- at Newark. We are hoping for a new station in New York on the east side of New York so that the Pennsylvania trains will not have to stop only at Pennsylvania Station, but can go right on through to the east side of New York and you can take the east side subway from 33rd Street and Lexington Avenue; and hopefully the Long Island Railroad trains will be able to stop there, too, discharge their passengers, and not make everybody go over to Penn Station and then back over to the other side of Manhattan. We are looking toward a new station possibility at 149th Street for the New York Central Railroad. And so on. These are some of the things which are in the mill.

We have already started a couple of activities in the Bergen-Rockland area between New York and New Jersey. We have several studies underway to try to improve commuter service by bus, by rail, and by a combination of bus and rail. We have a study underway of the possibility of using the West Shore Railroad right of way, which is still used for freight, by paving part of that right of way, leaving the tracks, and running express buses over them from Bergen and Rockland counties into the Port Authority bus terminal. We think it's feasible; we are having a study made of it. In the meantime, we have already started the bus service, thanks to a demonstration grant we got from the federal government, whereby buses now leave New City in Rockland County, and travel over the Thru-way bridge at Nyack to Tarrytown. This is a new service. People can now leave the heart of Rockland County, go by bus to Tarrytown, get a New York Central train -- the schedules are coordinated. And from a service which started from scratch, we now have some 348-350 people a day using this service. And it seems to be continuing to increase, showing what can be done.

Over in New Jersey we opened a new station at New Brunswick, outside of the core area of New Brunswick, where people can come and park their cars and get right on the train. After two days of operation, we have gone from zero cars to 104-105 cars parked. People are driving their cars, parking, getting on the train at New Brunswick. We expect that to continue to go on up as people get accustomed to it.

We are in the business of a new approach to commuter operation on the New York Central Railroad up in Westchester County, putting in new parking facilities, cutting the number of station stops, increasing the speed of the trains so there will be fewer stops, better parking facilities, and we expect to cut the running time from Brewster to New York by as much as thirty to forty minutes. This will be in operation by December. And so these are practical things which are happening at the present time.

We are well along on a study of general aviation. Let me explain

to this audience that general aviation does not involve commercial aviation; we are not interested in this study in the location of new general airports. General aviation refers to really what might be called business aircraft, private aircraft and non-common carrier aircraft -- charter flights. This is a tremendously important business, because general aviation and the availability of general aviation airports is of vital importance to many kinds of business these days, because the proximity of an airport where the company plane can land and take off is of vital importance, particularly in the electronic, space, etc. kinds of businesses. And so we are finding in the three states here that there is a vast economic potential for the three states in having adequate general aviation facilities. We are pretty well along on our study of general aviation. We expect to have a report out before very long as to just what facilities there are, who is using them, and the growth trend in this, and also some suggestions as to what might be done to improve facilities for general aviation.

We are looking into such things as the fact that it takes longer to get to an airport than it does to fly from that airport to your destination in so many cases, and hopefully to improve the travel time through ground access to airports. It is no accident, obviously, that it actually took me longer to come from Idlewild airport one day than it did to fly from Chicago to New York. Many of you may have had the same experience. We did not even have time to eat the dinner on whatever that flight's called -- it was the men only, where you can have your dinner and take your shoes off -- but we had barely time to take our shoes off and we were in Idlewild Airport because of the wind. It took me to get to midtown Manhattan, I regret to report, longer than it actually took me to get to New York City. We are trying to do something about this by improving the ground access to airports, and hopefully our Tri-State's activity, if there is ever another airport built somewhere in this vast region of ours, will have rapid transit built into it -- whereas Idlewild Airport, Newark Airport, and the others really were constructed without paying much attention to the need for rapid transit. These are some of the things that this Committee I'm associated with has been doing.

Let me digress from the commuter passenger transportation field on rail and airports to the motorist for the moment. I would not want you to get the impression that we are concentrating on railroad transportation to the exclusion of other forms of transportation. This is not true. Nor would I want you to get the feeling we are spending our time largely, or even exclusively at this point, and planning later to do something else, on the problem of commutation between the core in New York and the rest of the region. We are just as vitally concerned with movement in what might be called the outer reaches of the region as we are with the inner reaches of the region. Some people have asked, Well, why should the three states get together? Isn't the problem one of New York and Connecticut on the one hand, and New York and New Jersey on the other? Well, it really is not when you look at it, and particularly when you look at the highway circulation program. And one of the areas where this Committee can make its greatest contribution is in helping the three states to see the highway problem in its proper perspective as a regional

problem, and to plan future highways with the region more thoroughly in mind so that we can move from one area of the region to another with greater ease than we do at the present time.

We are looking also into the handling of freight in the New York port area. We have a study well along toward completion on the marine freight operations in the harbor area that embodies not much of Connecticut, to be sure, but New York and New Jersey. We are looking at the possibility of consolidating rail freight at a single terminal on the Jersey side. We are looking at the possibility of cutting the costs of this very expensive port we have so that the port can compete more effectively with other ports on the eastern seaboard and to the south. This study on marine freight handling we expect to have in hand before too long. Some phases of it have already been reviewed with the railroad presidents concerned, and we think we've made quite a little progress to be able to get all the railroad presidents together: number one, to get them to agree to a study which for years they adamantly refused to; and secondly, to bring the Port of New York Authority into the study because there was a history there of railroad-Port Authority relationships; and thirdly, to bring the three states into the picture, and the local governments definitely into the picture. Our diplomacy so far, I think, has been good. We hope the study will be equally good. We are confident that it certainly will point a direction which the communities will want to consider.

Out of all this -- and I could tell you much more, because the danger when one begins to talk about something that is as far reaching in its implications as this is, and when one is that much involved, is to tell you more than one should. But I should just like to go back to the beginning and say that the Tri-State Transportation Committee was created for very specific purposes. It is a new departure in trying to solve regional problems on the basis not of creating something apart from the states, apart from the local government, in the sense that it is completely out from under local-state control, but rather, the Tri-State approach is one where you have state leadership initially, and state leadership among three states cooperating, working with local government, and bringing the federal government into the picture because of the very important federal concerns with the interstate transportation problem, and of course, the federal government's very important role in financing -- particularly highways and airports -- but also more recently the federal government's interest in mass transportation. We think a beginning has been made. All those who serve on the Tri-State Transportation Committee are under pressure from the three governors to produce not just studies, but studies that will produce action; and also to produce action programs like the demonstration grants that I've mentioned. And there are others in the works.

The alternatives to this kind of cooperative approach, granted we have the regional problems, I would just like to mention in passing and in conclusion. If we do not approach cooperatively the problems that are upon us, it may well be that some outside force will come in and direct us to do what we have not been able to work out ourselves in a way to suit ourselves, cooperatively. Certainly the fed-

eral government has indicated, the Congress has indicated in the statutes it has already passed, that it is going to insist upon regional approaches to these problems as a condition precedent for the 90% of interstate highway monies, and for the urban renewal monies through the HHFA, and any mass transportation funds that may come in the future. As we do it ourselves cooperatively, we are convinced we are number one, going to do it better; number two, we are going to protect the vital interests of the local communities which want to determine their own destiny but want to work them out cooperatively with others; and number three, the federal government, we think, will be playing its very proper role in assisting in the federal system as it should be assisting the states and the local governments on a cooperative basis in meeting the problems. This is our approach. This is the approach, I am pleased to say, of all the members of the Committee -- and I include the federal government people as well as the state and the local people.

I think, if someone had asked me fifteen years ago, could something like the Tri-State Transportation Committee be established and could it work my answer would have been negative. The fact is that it is in existence. It has been in existence for over two years. We think it is working, but we invite your criticisms, your suggestions. Every one of us on the Committee is on the firing line not only in this Committee, but in other jobs, and we all subscribe in a non-partisan fashion to the thought of Harry Truman when he said, "If you can't stand the heat, get out of the kitchen."

# The Delaware River Basin Commission

James F. Wright

I appreciate this opportunity to discuss with you this evening the DRBC -- the Delaware River Basin Commission Compact -- and the Commission thereby created. My reasons are twofold: first, I am always glad for the opportunity to outline the history and the concepts that brought about our commission, as it is a somewhat unique governmental agency which in future years you may see more of in other forms of government; and secondly, I welcome a chance to outline to you our programs and our problems, because through what I hope will be an interchange of ideas and opinions, we should benefit from your thinking and criticism. And this will help us develop more effectively.

Ours is not a period wherein we are governed by philosopher-kings, and we are not building slowly upon ancient forms of government whose organic elements change only slightly decade by decade. Our nation has been in a period of explosive growth for a number of years, and our conventional governmental forms have been strained to meet the problems thereby generated. The organization about which I will speak is really a typical mid-twentieth century form of adjustment to our social problems, an example of pragmatic development hopefully designed, I think, to adjust and grow with the problems of the century.

The historical basis for this should be discussed to give you an understanding of just how it came about. The causes for our creation are discernible in the early Thirties when increasing pollution problems in the Delaware estuary, and tributaries to it, by major cities stimulated efforts by the state legislative committees for interstate cooperation to form an organization to study the problem and to recommend solutions. Out of this came INCODEL, which was the Interstate Commission on the Delaware. INCODEL was supported principally by annual state appropriations. It developed water quality standards and advocated their adoption by the states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware. It had no federal participation. In and of itself, it had no regulatory powers, and very limited administrative responsibilities.

After the war it became apparent that more than just pollution was involved. A river, though once brought back to a good quality standard, will not remain so forever unless other things are done in parallel. And the social conditions that produced the problem were rapidly changing. Where once the problem of quantity shortage was considered remote, changing industrial technology and higher per capita water consumption, coupled with industrial and residential growth, posed problems requiring an integrated attack on the full spectrum of resource development. An effort was made to broaden the responsibilities and powers of INCODEL, and it was defeated in 1951. For a few years thereafter concern for this matter was felt by only a limited number of people. However, in 1955 an advisory com-

mittee was created by the aforementioned states, and the cities of New York and Philadelphia. One of the things that triggered this was the decision by the United States Supreme Court to permit the city of New York to divert ultimately up to 800,000,000 gallons a day from the Delaware, subject to the construction of the Pepacton and Cannonsville reservoirs on the western slopes of the Catskills. A further great stimulus to study was afforded by hurricanes Connie and Diane, which struck in the summer of 1955, causing unprecedented loss of life and damage, destroying any residual complacency about the capacity of the Delaware to produce a large flood. The Corps of Engineers, together with many other federal agencies, was authorized by the Congress to make a comprehensive survey of the basin. The Water Research Foundation engaged Syracuse University to recommend that form of governmental entity that might best plan and administer the basin as an integrated unit insofar as water resources are concerned.

From these various efforts was devised a federal interstate compact in which the four basin states and the federal government join in a partnership. The compact was passed by all the states and by the federal Congress in the unprecedently brief period of less than a year, in 1961, becoming law on October 27th. The jurisdiction of this Commission encompasses some 12,750 square miles, which is outlined on the map which I have before you here, the largest portion of which is in the state of Pennsylvania, followed in descending order by New Jersey, New York, and Delaware. Rivers and tributaries are no respecters of political boundaries, and therein lies the reason for this kind of an organization.

I would like at this time to discuss with you briefly the features of the Compact itself; in the time allotted, it would not be profitable to get into it in detail, but an understanding of the more important features is basic to an appreciation of the processes that the Commission must follow and the problems it must solve.

The first article, as we would expect, comprises definitions and powers establishing the Compact for 100 years. And Section I. 3 summates the basic policy most succinctly by stating: "the water resources of the basin are functionally interrelated, and the uses of these resources are interdependent. A single administrative agency is therefore essential for effective and economical direction, supervision, and coordination of efforts and programs of federal, state, and local governments, and private enterprise."

Article II establishes the Commission as a body politic incorporate; establishes the membership as the four governors of the four states, and a federal commissioner to be appointed by the President; and grants the usual powers of organization. This is significant because very few interstate compacts have appointed or have provided that the governors themselves be the commissioners. And as these are, as a general rule, the only elected, or one of the few elected, officials in the state by all of the citizens, it gives them (the citizens) a sense of participation that would be lacking in an appointive structure.

Article III is quite important. It deals with the powers and duties of the Commission, and among other things directs the Commission to propose a comprehensive plan for immediate and long-range development of the water resources of the basin, and a water-

resource program, (which you might consider an intermediate term -- detailed expansion of the elements).

Section III. 3, which is quite important, empowers the Commission as needed to allocate the waters of the basin in and among the signatory powers, subject to certain limitations. The most notable features are: 1. that without unanimous consent, the 1954 Supreme Court decree conditions regarding diversions, compensating releases, water rights, and the like, should not be impaired or changed; 2. that allocations made by the Commission shall not constitute a prior appropriation of the waters of the basin; 3. that the Commission shall be guided by the doctrine of Equitable Apportionment; and 4. that there may be redress from administrative action by the Commission to appropriate judicial review.

Section III. 6 affords the Commission broad responsibilities to plan, acquire, construct, and operate project facilities, and to establish standards of planning, design, and operation for all projects affecting water resources, including waste treatment plants, recreational facilities, flood protection works, water ship management programs, and ground water recharging operations. It also covers the conduct and sponsoring of research on all aspects of water resources, compiling and coordinating hydroelectric data, preparation of information and reports.

Section III. 8 is particularly important in that it requires that any project having a substantial effect upon the water resources of the basin must be approved by the Commission before it can be undertaken. The Commission, in turn, is mandated to approve such private or governmental projects when it finds that they will not substantially impair or conflict with the comprehensive plan, but it may modify or disapprove it whenever a determination of impairment or conflict is made. I call your attention to this with emphasis because it is both a controversial and a tremendously important section of the compact providing, as it does, for this review and for the power to harmonize all projects with the long-range plan, limiting the Commission to the exercising of disapproval or modification only to those circumstances where the project does not substantially impair or conflict with the comprehensive, the intent being here that the Commission should not capriciously exercise its discretion in denying any project that comes along, but that it must give full consideration to all the long-range elements of the comprehensive plan in approving it.

The other Articles very briefly: Article IV concentrates on water supply and empowers the Commission to develop and effectuate plans and projects for the use of the water of the basin in domestic, municipal, agricultural, and individual supply; construction and operational power is also provided. Article V is another one of considerable importance dealing specifically with the subject of pollution control, authorizing the Commission to study existing pollution and causes thereof, and empowering the Commission to assume jurisdiction over control of future pollution and the abatement of existing pollution wherever it determines, after due notice and hearing, that such action is required to effectuate the comprehensive plan. It is important here that the signatory parties, in turn, are pledged to cooperate in this effort. I am not going to enumerate the

legal specifics contained in this article -- leaving that to your own time and researches -- but I call attention to it because it is a highlight of the Compact, and is intended to forestall the development of conditions that might be foreseen. Our attitude on the staff toward this power is one of very considerable respect. The existence of such authority makes the Compact meaningful in a field where efforts might otherwise be largely hortatory; at the same time, existing pollution control agencies -- state and local and federal -- should be the means whereby day to day administration of regulations is carried out. In administering this power, our philosophy is to use it to establish the broad framework of water quality objectives that must be sought, and to back up other agencies when necessary, moving directly only when circumstances beyond the control of such agencies require objective operation by separate authority.

Article VI gives the Commission basically the same powers to get into flood damage reduction as it had in other fields. Article VII deals with watershed management, and fish and wildlife; and while it does empower the Commission to enter directly into projects pertaining thereto, it is apparent that the powers here given are intended to be used to stimulate and promote sound practices rather than to encourage the Commission to directly enter into the management of such facilities. Article VIII deals with the subject of recreation in the same vein as Article VII deals with fish and wildlife. Article IX empowers the Commission to get into the hydroelectric power business if it is in the interests of the citizens of the basin as a whole. This is an area in which the Commission is now studying the policies to be adopted; they have not been formulated yet. It is a matter, of course, of great interest to the utilities here, and a matter of great interest to many people, as to how the hydroelectric facilities should best be developed and used for the benefit of the citizens as a whole.

Article X is a detail empowering the Commission to regulate withdrawals and diversions from surface and ground waters, and authorizes further the determination of the protected areas when shortages develop, thus permitting the control of water extraction under conditions that will authorize the full consideration of the legitimate users within the basin. This Article X is one which needs to be read in conjunction with the restrictions laid down in the Supreme Court decision in Article III.

Article XI is another highlight article dealing with governmental relations. In substance, it requires the planning of public projects relating to powers delegated to the Commission to be undertaken in conjunction with the Commission, and further requires that expenditure for such related projects may not be made unless it has first been included by the Commission in the comprehensive plan. Article XII is largely a financing power permitting the Commission to use revenue bonds, as well as grants or appropriations, for capital purposes, but does not confer any tax authority on the Commission; nor does it pledge the credit or revenue of any of the signatory parties for the Commission's bonds.

Article XIII is another highlight, which I shall not go into in detail, but which provides the things that shall be considered in drafting a

comprehensive plan, and provides for the procedure controlling its adoption and amendment. It also deals with the water resources program. Article XIV deals with sundry auxiliary powers governing the conduct of the Commission business. Article XV deals with the federal statute reserving certain federal powers. Perhaps the most important portion of this is Section 4-1-s. which makes the comprehensive plan, when affirmatively voted on by the federal executive department. You will all be happy to know that there are no more Articles.

Now I should like to talk briefly about the organization of the staff. The organizational staffing pattern of the Commission is outlined in the charts which were provided to you earlier. And you will notice that the engineering effort is carried out at the moment through the planning division, which constitutes the majority of our staff. This, in turn, has been grouped into three branches: program planning, project review, and water quality. Now in the program planning branch is the major function for the development of the comprehensive plan, and certain staff specialties are grouped therein to assist in the development of the basic data, the analysis of the requirements, economic evaluations, and things of this nature. A separate branch has been created for project review. This arises from the fact that almost from the very first the bread-and-butter work of this Commission has been the analysis of projects proposed by others for development, (under Section 3. 8, which I stressed as we were going quickly through the provisions of the compact), and the determination of their compatability with the comprehensive plan. We might say that one branch, program planning, develops and maintains the yardstick; and then the project review is the one that compares specific projects against it. There's a reason for this separation which I would like to explain to you. In my own experience, the urgency of day to day operations will tend to overwhelm the long-range staff planning if both functions are combined. To protect the integrity of long-range planning, and to keep the forward motion of the comprehensive plan possible, we separated these two. We recognize that they are highly related, that there must be a constant interchange, but we are also well aware of the fact that if they were under single management, there would be a tendency for operations to drive out staff planning. This is sort of a Greshams law of administration. Water quality is still a third branch, and again the quality objectives and standards and the projects that are involved -- all of these must be integrated into the comprehensive plan. But the long-range importance of water quality management, together with the potential and operational responsibilities that exist, dictate the necessity of coequal status with the other branches.

You will notice that by governmental standards we are a small organization. We presently number thirty-seven. And our tools and techniques are planning, review, and coordination. We do not envisage immediate construction or operating responsibilities, though it is interesting to note that provision has been made throughout in the organic act for assuming such responsibilities if it becomes necessary. Our organization at present does not contemplate this, and it requires, therefore, a different experimental

structure than would be true of a typical line agency of government. Most of our staff have to be in the middle years of age and experience, and we have been accused by the actuaries of being shaped more like a top than a pyramid -- which thought has also occurred to me to describe the Executive Director.

I should like to talk briefly about some of our basic objectives. As you would expect, the powers and responsibilities covered under the Compact largely frame these objectives which the Commission must seek. Foremost of these must be the development of the comprehensive plan and its upkeep and maintenance. Perhaps in the minds of some of you, a comprehensive plan creates a picture of a list of multi-purpose projects designed to operate: flood control, water supply, recreation, power, and the like. Certainly these are elements of the comprehensive plan, but we feel that a comprehensive plan embodies much more than just physical projects. First of all, we think that it requires the identification of a number of goals or objectives; and it's not enough to express these wholly in terms of specific projects, or in generalities that are pious and thoroughly unobjectionable. We do not feel that in dealing with the question of additional water supply it's adequate to say that there should be a maximum development of water supplies. Certainly no one can quarrel with this, but this is not enough for a comprehensive plan to be meaningful. In the long run we will have to qualify this, not only in terms of total basin supply but also in terms of sub basin supply at specific points. The same general rule on quantifying supply will apply to the quality standards at a later date. Secondly, we believe that the principles under which specific physical projects or study programs should be undertaken need evaluation by sound economic and social criteria, and these should be spelled out in the plan, too, so that everybody knows on what basis these projects will be evaluated, and they are not pulled out of a hat or developed from a ten-inch crystal ball when nobody is looking. Third, we believe that quality standards need constant monitoring for performance and research to determine how they may be improved for the maximum benefit for the most people at the least cost. Fourth, we consider that the recreational capabilities of the basin must be correlated with the increasing demands of the basin's residents, and the many millions of people in the service area of the basin who will depend more and more on this region for satisfaction of this recreational demand.

In other non-structural programs such as flood plain zoning, we need improved warning systems; we need standards for construction on flood plains that minimize damage; we need exploitation of flood plains for recreation and other uses not subject to severe flood damage; and all of these need to be encouraged and developed through having their portion of the comprehensive plan dedicated to them. Perhaps the most important concept that we're trying to explain as we move toward the complete outline of all of this is that it must be a living document; it is not a static thing (even though its target dates are well into the future: some thirty, or forty, or fifty years from now) that once stated can stay that

way, because it very possibly cannot. And we have to be able to recognize this, and then make these changes in front of God and everybody, because that is the way we have to adopt and modify the comprehensive plan. It can only be done through hearing and through public meeting and opportunity for debate and discussion, and being voted on by the Commission in public.

I want to talk briefly about our program outlines. Some of you have heard these before; I think many of you have not. We have nine basic planning programs which I think will show you the way in which we are trying to attack this problem. The first is a continuing inventory of water supply; and the problem here is that an up-to-date comprehensive plan must rely upon the collection, compilation, evaluation, and periodic publication of a reliable water crop statistic. And while federal, state, and other governmental and private sources collect much information, it's not continually compiled in a form suitable to permit analysis upon which the Commission must base its later decisions. So the program for data collection on surface and ground waters is to be continued, and the natural run-off computations will be completed so that locations can be pinpointed, a stream mileage system can be set up, water withdrawals and returns will be spotted, tabulated, and mapped, and comparison of base period stream flows to determine current water needs will be started to determine areas of surplus.

Following right along with this is the need for our Program II, which is population analysis and demands for land and water. The problem here is that population concentrations, and types of land use, and water prices-- all influence water demands. Information on these factors is being collected by government and by private organizations at all levels, and they're also forecasting population shifts and planning land use accordingly. But the Commission is in part a plan for unified basin development with a view towards compatible, efficient land and water use, and our program involves the analysis of ALL of the data we find on land and water use within the basin, and consumptive use, and population and land use trends; thus enabling the staff, we hope, to revise and update forecasts of water demands, and determine the areas of potential water surplus and shortage.

The third program deals with the analysis of the fish and wildlife and recreation demands. Both the Compact and the needs of the Compact's modern society mandate that the Delaware water resources be fully developed to accommodate the recreation seekers. In addition to recreational water use, the protection of a score of sport and commercial fisheries may set basic standards for water quality and for stream flow requirements. In 1964, private facilities will be added to the inventory that we are now making of recreation locations to help step up the study of both facilities and demands. Research into pollution effects on the movement of resident and migratory fish populations in the estuary will be supported to determine the species, composition, and the relation of resident fishes to seasonal variations in the chemical quality of the water. Work will continue on the classification of the recreation and fish and wildlife resources, leading to the development of a management plan for the basin. And I stress here,

this is a management plan for the basin, not an operational plan that the Commission is concerned with operating.

Under Program IV we have analysis of power potential and demands. The problem here is that the basin's water resources have a determinable potential for generating electric power. A balance needs to be found between this potential and demands for it; since marketing factors are essential to decisions on proposals to establish power installations, whether public or private, our '64 program involves studies of the hydroelectric power potential of the basin, the market for such power and cost, the benefits of power development. And new developments in economics and technology of hydropower will be reviewed, and hopefully integrated. As I mentioned earlier, the Commission is working now on the development of its power philosophy. We believe that this will be one of the elements integrated into the comprehensive plan within the next few months.

Five is the program I mentioned earlier: the investigation of projects proposed by others. It arises from the fact that there is a constant flow of plans by public agencies and private sources to undertake projects that could alter the natural flow of water or its quality, its cost, its amount. Some installations simply delay runoff; others export it; and all of these water-using projects need review, as I mentioned earlier, to be coordinated with the long-range purposes of the comprehensive plan. So that is a continuing program of the Commission.

In the field of water quality we have a specific and separate program designed to attain the objectives of the water quality work started during the twenty-five year existence of INCODEL, but to broaden it in order to keep abreast of the growth of this most heavily populated and industrialized area. While water quality in the New York State portion of the basin, and some other headwater areas, is excellent, there's acid mine drainage in the Schuylkill and Lehigh rivers; there's a tremendous waste problem in the estuary; and there are saltwater intrusion and turbidity problems. These, of course, affect several things, including the fishlife, the assimilative capacity of the stream, its ability to be used for recreational purposes at present; and to step up to meet this, the Commission is continuing to develop techniques for coordinating activities among pollution control agencies. It is studying the adequacy of the INCODEL standards, and it is studying the compliance with these. It is cooperating with the Delaware Estuary Study of the Public Health Service, which is a three to five year job, and the Commission will be increasingly active in this field as time goes on.

VII is our comprehensive plan in water resources program, and I call this really our knot-tying effort. Inventory of water demand, inventory of water supply, the study of water quality, trends in water quality, recreation needs -- all these things add up to what kind of an integrated and interrelated interest do we have here, it's the development of a comprehensive plan that gives a judicious balance to all of these that we are trying to carry forward under this program. This involves studying alternative means of financing construction of projects and methods for the Commission to recover reimbursable costs from beneficiaries. I will deal in

greater detail with this when I get into specific problems later on. We hope, by the end of this fiscal year, to have revised a comprehensive plan outline. We have at this time put forth only a Phase I comprehensive plan, which is largely physical structures, but I think we will have an expanded outline of what should be in a comprehensive plan, together with specific policies, by close to the end of this fiscal year.

Flood loss reduction is another program, and planning for this is terribly important because, for example, in the $600,000,000 program that is envisaged by the Corps of Engineers' comprehensive survey, only about 35% of the potential flood loss damage is dealt with directly by structures. But the construction of even modest flood control structures tends to instill a false sense of security among flood plain dwellers. It's often economically unfeasible to build expensive facilities to protect even a highly developed area from floods that are extreme, but are also very infrequent, and we feel that one of the programs we must carry forward is toward altering the public attitude towards the hazard, providing information on flood locations, the duration, the frequency, the inundation, the probable damage, and how to protect against them with non-structural measures. One of our programs to meet this is to develop flood plain maps, which we are doing in conjunction with the Corps of Engineers and the Geological Survey. We will review and study existing flood forecasting and warning systems. Efforts will be made to integrate these warning and forecasting systems with related programs of effective flood plain buildup such as urban redevelopment of open space, tax incentives to draw other flood plain users. All of these are possibilities, and few of them have been exploited.

I should digress for a moment and say here that while a great deal can be done to reduce flood plain hazard by the Commission, only a little of what NEEDS to be done can be done by the Commission; most of it's got to be done by the localities. The Commission has no zoning powers directly. The states have no zoning powers. The actual zoning -- and this is the principal protection -- has to be done by the localities. And the job really is a missionary job to acquaint people with the necessity for dealing effectively with this and heading off the terrible damage that can occur when careless development is permitted to take place on the assumption that "it can't happen here."

Finally, the Commission has a program for planning basin operation development. This comes about by virtue of the fact that there are already in the basin a number of structures owned by the states; there are a number more that will be owned by the states; perhaps some of them will be owned by the Commission; there are some of them that are owned by private organizations. And all of these, if used together in the proper sequence, can actually optimize the yield of water from the basin. But this needs to be planned very carefully and over a very long period of time, and the use of computers today gives us a chance for a breakthrough in this field that we have not had in previous years. So we are mounting an early study on this, well aware of the fact that this is also being studied by the Corps and up at Harvard, and we are working with them; we are

working with ORSANCO with some of their planning and computer operations in the Ohio River. We hope, over a period of quite a few years -- because this isn't going to be done overnight -- to develop an operational plan that will optimize the yield of this basin and minimize the dangers. There are times that flood buildup in one area can be bypassed and saved in another area against a time of low water. There are times that the use of systems parallel to ours may be encouraged when we are in low water periods. And correspondingly, there are times when we are in high water periods when the larger diversions can be encouraged from our area without damaging our water resources. All of these need to be worked out in a coordinated operational plan. And this is after the structures are in, and after the basic objectives are agreed to.

I want to talk about some of our major problems, and I want to hit about three of them here. These dimensions may not be apparent to you from the outlines of the programs I've described. One of these, as you might expect, is a matter of intergovernmental relations. I think there is hardly a more sensitive one at the moment, since all existing organizations are concerned with what a new organization with such broad powers will do to them. We're trying at the moment to develop regulations and procedures that will concentrate our efforts upon the assessment of NET EFFECTS, rather than upon the detailed review and consequent duplication of effort that would come from rechecking engineering design or construction supervision. These, we feel, are areas that the Commission doesn't need to move into, except when there's been a defective performance. But the net effects, quantitatively or qualitatively, of works on the river are our concern, and we must be able to bring to each project the objectivity which we were created to exercise. I sometimes feel that while these states have lived together for some 250 years and trust each other implicitly, that they created this Commission as sort of a watch and ward society on each other. And it really is that. It's sort of a federal government in microcosm. Check and balance. But that's what a commission such as this can do in bringing a lack of partisanship to it that is sometimes necessary when various projects are up on the block.

The matter of marking new water, created by new improvements provides another challenge. Our situation is not analogous to a single community buying a reservoir site up in the hills, laying some pipe and storage and transfer works, and delivering measurable quantities of water to a group of consumers within the municipal jurisdiction. This is pretty easy to cost out and price, and figure that over thirty years you will pay for the system, and then reduce the water rates accordingly. Ours is like this: we must find a way to pay for the water supply features at a number of separate locations, in separate sub-basins; each of these may be a somewhat immediate, measurable benefit to the community in proximity to it, but the principal importance of these different developments is the fact that all of them contribute to the augmentation of flow in the main river. What has to be found here is the value of the assurance to these many communities on both the tributaries and the main stem that the completed set of works will

guarantee sustaining low flows during periods of drought such as we're now experiencing -- or just were. We feel in the Commission, or I should say the staff feels, that no single community should bear the burden. We feel in the staff that the division of these costs in relation to the benefits received is the goal to be sought among many downstream users. We also recognize that it is a very sophisticated problem, and we think that it's our responsibility to find the most practical answer to this because in the long run tangible benefits of this kind, which are not paid for at present by the federal government, nor is there any uniform state policy on how they are paid for by the states -- we feel these benefits, to the maximum extend possible, should be paid for by the direct beneficiaries. Western state policies perhaps are helpful as guides here, but they are not fully transferable to an Eastern environment in which there are different water laws and different rights, and less specifically developed administrative bodies created to handle the problem of local cost sharing. I wish that we had the degree of sophistication they possess; all I can say is that we must gain it within the next ten to fifteen years, because it is during this time that the financial underwriting of these political works, as far as water supply is concerned, must be guaranteed.

Another problem whose importance is sometimes underestimated is the need for developing the most effective water quality plan that can be implemented. I point out that this may sometimes be overshadowed by the drama of large dams and reservoirs, but the water quality problem is one that's going to be with us -- like the poor -- forever. And it is important to us because we can only develop the new water supplies in a limited fashion. We have only got so many reservoirs that are still possible here. After that we have created probably the maximum quantitative supply that can be done; we haven't done it yet, but we can do it. But the quality problem is going to be with us forever, because we're going to have to continue using these supplies more and more; more and more downstream users are going to have to use more and more water that has already been used and reused upstream. Estimates of costs of total water development in the United States -- of course, there are no such things because total water development is going to continue as long as there is a United States, and we can't see how far that's going to be, but we shall hopefully assume that it's in advance of the year 2020 -- are that quality developments are needed that are going to be fifteen times as expensive as all the quantitative developments that we can now foresee. I'm talking about around $10 billion quantitative developments. This is what is going to be faced by us, by our children, our grandchildren, and so on. And the only way it can be done is to face it, because without facing it, we cannot survive.

There is a limit, as I say, to these new sources of natural supply. Most people quite properly think in terms of specific pollution abatement through waste treatment as the first tool which has to be used, and I'm not underestimating its importance; but I do not think we should confine our thinking just to this method in the long run. We are going to have to study the combined uses of all of the resources that can be used to maintain quality. And this will include

the development of schedules of low flow augmentation, where good water can be added to water that has already been used several times in order to dilute it. We'll have to consider the use of proportionate release schedules for waste treatment to take advantage of the scouring action of high flows. We may have to consider the interdictions of certain wastes in extremely low flow periods by certain industries. Ways, I think, can be found -- they are quite expensive at the moment, but I think they can be found -- to reoxygenate portions of the river through mechanical or chemical means, thus improving both the quality and the assimilative capacity of the water.

And all of this is going to require a fully cooperative effort; there is no single layer of government -- federal, state, or local -- that can carry it all alone, nor should it have to. It requires a full interchange of our skills. And one of our principal concerns has to be that the development of quality preserving systems does not become an impossible financial burden upon the business and industry of the basin. For to do this would be to drive out, or to stifle, the growth on which the whole economy of the basin depends. The other side of the coin requires the polluters who make excessive work for the control agencies or treatment facilities of downstream users should be charged a fair assessment for these costs or this extra work needed to preserve the integrity of the river. All of this is going to be a long time in doing, and there may be a few false steps made before it's wrapped up in a beautiful pattern. But I stress this point because the long-range costs are going to be tremendous, though they may not be as dramatic as building a project for $122 million at one time. The long-range effects are more than tremendous, because if we don't keep our water quality in a condition where our great-grandchildren can use it, perhaps better than we can, we aren't going to have a healthy economy around this neck of the woods. The health aspects are, of course, so important as to need no emphasis, but the point is that it has to be treated as an integrated attack. It is not just a matter of waste treatment plants; it is not just a matter of finding the magic chemical. It is an integrated attack where all these resources are put together.

I have covered a fair amount of ground this evening. There is much more that should be covered for a full comprehension of this, but I have always felt that the mind can no longer absorb when the seat can no longer endure. And I think it's time that perhaps you all had a chance at me for a question and answer period. I would like to close by saying that I appreciate again this opportunity to talk with you, to share with you our thoughts, our doubts, and our hopes.

# *The Metropolitan Regional Council*

**Wallace S. Sayre**

This audience, at least those parts of it which have been attending these several sessions, must be, by now, experts on the New York metropolitan region. You know that it is an area which contains approximately 16 million people. You know, perhaps from Professor Wood, that it is an area that contains 1400 governments. You know that it contains 21 or 22 counties, depending on the frame of mind Duchess County, New York, is in at the moment. And you know that it is a tri-state metropolitan region, involving Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey. All these things I expect you have heard repetitively, and I shall not say any more about them. We do have, as a social and economic fact, a region of about 22 counties in three states containing about 16 million people, which within the next decade, or decade and a half, will grow to 20 million. Socially and economically, this is a unit; governmentally it is not. Governmentally it is highly fragmented, as Robert Wood's count of 1400 local governments in this region demonstrates.

The New York Metropolitan Regional Council is one of the variety of solutions that have been attempted in the last decade or so. To make this region a little less chaotic in governmental terms, to make the governmental system correspond a little more effectively with the social and economic system in which we live, the New York Metropolitan Regional Council began in 1956. It began on the basis of a letter from Mayor Robert Wagner of New York addressed to about fifty of the chief elected executives in the local governments of the tri-state region. This letter proposed that they form a conference and hold a meeting, and offered City Hall in New York as the place for the first meeting. This letter was sent out by Mayor Wagner only after considerable doubt and debate as to whether it would work. There was uncertainty as to whether the elected officials of the region wanted to get together, and whether they might not be concerned that the invitation came from the largest of the local governments in the region. But, to Wagner's surprise, and I think to almost everybody else's, the response was highly affirmative. Almost everybody agreed to come and everyone who received the letter responded affirmatively, even though some said they could not attend on the date fixed.

Mayor Wagner issued this invitation to form a regional conference in 1956 because he was aware of the fact that this method had been used in a number of metropolitan regions around the country, notably in Detroit, to solve some of the problems at the local government level. So it was not an act of complete originality, though it was an act of considerable imagination and boldness in the region in 1956 to take the responsibility for a meeting that might not come off. About 45 of the larger local governments in the region responded, came to the first meeting, and have come regularly to the successive meetings (which have averaged about two or three

a year). After about two years of existence, the organization decided that it was really now more than a conference and changed its name to the New York Metropolitan Regional Council.

The Council, then, is a form of a meeting, a regular meeting semiannually and sometimes as often as quarterly, of the elected chief executives of the counties and the larger cities in the Connecticut-New York-New Jersey metropolitan area. It is a forum in which common problems are identified and in which these common problems are discussed -- frequently discussed in the Council as a whole only after they have been studied by one of the Council's committees. And then sometimes, but not frequently, the Council recommends a common line of action to its members. It has no other powers than the powers to identify problems, to discuss them, to recommend solutions. The Council has no staff; it has a courtesy staff, so to speak, an able courtesy staff supplied by the City of New York. The secretariat services and some of the research services are provided by New York City through the City Administrator's office. But, except for this borrowed staff, or this donated staff, the Council has no staff. The Council has no funds with which to operate. It is as yet a quite informal voluntary council of the chief elected officials in the region.

The work of this Council, or this forum, can be seen, I think, most clearly if I simply indicate the standing committees the Council has. It has a Committee on Traffic and Transportation. It has a Committee on Air Pollution Control. It has a Committee on Water Pollution Control, a Committee on Recreation and Land Use, a Committee on Water Supply. And it has a committee on its own future, if any. It has, then, five subject-matter standing committees. The committees are typically composed of from six to nine members.

What are the accomplishments of the Council? We are now -- in the autumn of 1963 -- more than seven years away from its establishment. What in these seven years has the Council accomplished?

It has been an accomplishment to be expressed primarily in terms of discussion and common appraisal of problems -- an exchange of felt needs. There has been an exchange and discussion of common problems and possible solutions, and these studies and discussions have involved the 45 to 50 highest elected officials in the local governments of the region: county executives, chairmen of the county boards, supervisors, mayors of the larger cities, as well as the mayor of the central city, New York. The Council has made some progress on air pollution control because it has been possible to pool a considerable amount of the technical talent in the several air pollution control agencies in the region, and to augment these skills with assistance from the U. S. Public Health Service. So there has been some genuine, substantial coordination and increase of effectiveness in this area -- though, as you perhaps know, progress in the field of air pollution control so far everywhere in the United States (Los Angeles, Pittsburgh, San Francisco, Detroit, New York), has consisted mainly in not losing ground; that is, remaining approximately even with the problem. (It is said that the tons of air pollutants in the sky over Los Angeles are now about the

same number of tons as were there when the air pollution district was established. But the experts say: can you imagine how many more tons there would have been there if we hadn't been trying to do something about it?; the conservative estimate is that the tonnage of pullutants would have been triple the present figure). But even standing still in this field, or holding our own, is a form of progress. That is about all one could claim for the New York region but it is also about all one could claim for Los Angeles, which has invested the heaviest resources in handling the problem.

There has been some substantial progress in law enforcement -- mainly an exchange of information among the local police departments of the region. There has been some progress in jet-noise abatement, though the result is not yet enthusiastically endorsed by those who live nearest airports. Perhaps as in air pollution control, although we have a much larger number of jets operating in and out of the region, the noise is not any higher than it was when we started worrying about the problem. Transportation has also represented an area of accomplishment. The rescue, temporary though it may be, of the New Haven Railroad from a fate worse than death, is probably in large part due to the representations of the Regional Council before the federal government and the New York and Connecticut state governments. So is the takeover of the Hudson and Manhattan Tubes by the Port Authority fairly directly a result of recommendations and influence exercised by the Council, and to a very considerable extent the establishment of the Tri-State Transportation Commission, about which Dr. Ronan talked to you recently. The establishment of that agency was to a considerable part the result of the recommendations of the Council. And there are some ironic twists to that to which I will come later.

As perhaps can be seen from this brief list of what might be called accomplishments, the Council accomplishes whatever it accomplishes by acting through others. It is essentially a coordinating, suggesting, and recommending body, and what it can call accomplishments have to be the accomplishments of the local governments themselves or of the state governments responding to their recommendations, or the national government responding in that way. In other words, the Council is a group of influential elected executives who hold a watching brief for the interests of the region, attempting to make each of the local governments contribute as much as it can to the solution of the region's problems, but also trying to make certain that the state and national governments not fail to do their part also.

By all measures the Metropolitan Regional Council is still, one might say, a somewhat embryonic, undeveloped governmental institution. After seven years one would have thought it would have had a firmer base and a firmer grasp on certain operational problems of the region. The Council members would agree, I think, that the accomplishments have been modest and that they have been indirect. But this is an area in which change is extremely difficult. General MacArthur once closed a famous speech by saying, "Old Soldiers never die; they just fade away." This might be said of local governments. Local governments never die; there is even some question

as to whether they ever fade away. It seems clear that it is easier to effect change at the state government level or at the national government level than at the local government level. There is here in operation not merely caution and prudence, but a great deal of habit, and sympathy, and even sentimentality.

The Council has been concerned about what it ought to be, about what it ought to grow into, and that is why it has a committee, its sixth standing committee, on its own future. The Chairman of the Council committee on its future, by the way, is a New Jersey resident, Carl Metsker, Secretary of Rutgers University and Chairman of the Board of Freeholders of Middlesex County.

In 1959 and 1960, in other words, at about the midpoint of the history I'm relating, the Council became concerned about what its future should be, what it should plan to become. While the Metsker Committee was deliberating on this question, the Regional Plan Association, which is the only region-wide citizen association which the region has, also became interested actively in the same question. It is worth pausing to note that although the region has many chambers of commerce for local government areas; many professional associations, defined usually by the county or the city in which they work, and many state-wide associations, we rarely have a citizen or interest-group association which deals with the whole region. As a matter of fact, the only one with any history is the Regional Plan Association, an organization founded in the 1920's by people whose main interest, as you can see from the title, was in planning, and who were responsible in the twenties and thirties for the growth of planning agencies in the region. When the Regional Plan Association began its work in the 1920's there were no governmental planning agencies in the region. Now every county and every city of any size has a planning agency -- either a planning commission or a planning office, and almost all of them have a planning staff, i.e., they have one or more professional planners. But the Regional Plan Association is interested in more than just the function of planning. It has always been interested in developing the government and economy of the region, and it has published a great many volumes on the regional plan and the regional economy. (The Regional Plan Association was the sponsor of the recent studies of the New York region made mainly by the Harvard economists.)

In 1959 the Regional Plan Association appointed a committee on the Metropolitan Regional Council. That committee consisted among others, of Mr. W. H. Baumer, who is a New Jersey resident; Mr. Bruce Palmer, a Newark resident; as well as Amory Bradford, then business manager of the New York Times; Dr. Burdell, president of the Cooper Union; Thomas Carroll, then president of George Washington University, but now vice-president of the Ford Foundation; and Luther Gulick, president of the Institute of Public Administration. The Regional Plan Association's report was made in January 1959 (published in full in the New York Times on January 9, 1959). The RPA committee recommended that the Regional Council should be set up by state statute and congressional approval in almost exactly the way in which the Port Authority is set up under an interstate compact, and that it should be composed of representatives of the local governments very much as the Council is presently com-

posed. In other words, it was proposed that the Council should have legal status and that it be established by identical statutes passed by the legislatures of Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey, and that this compact (these statutes) be approved by the Congress of the United States under the clause of the Constitution referring to interstate compacts. This, it seemed to us, would give the Council a legal being. We recommended that it have only research discussion and recommendation functions. And we recommended that it have a staff, a permanent staff, which we thought could be supported either by contribution from the local government members or by foundation grants. At the present time the Council apparently cannot accept even gifts of money from member governments or from the foundations because it has no legal identity. These were very modest proposals, proposing simply that the Council take one more step forward toward being an effective governmental institution. The Metropolitan Council's own committee, the Metsker Committee, reported in February, 1959, a month later. The Metsker Committee, the official committee, proposed an interlocal agreement, simply that the local governments use the then New York-type statutes providing for interlocal government contracts or agreements. It also proposed, what the RPA committee did not propose though it did not oppose that the Metropolitan Regional Council have a treasury. Each member government was to pledge a contribution to the Metropolitan Regional Council of one penny per annum per person living in jurisdiction -- one cent per year per person -- not a very heavy tax. This would give the Council about $160,000 as an annual budget if all local governments in the region join.

From February 1959 to late summer 1962 had to be spent in persuading the three states to adopt identical statutes permitting interlocal agreement. This is where a lot of the time and a lot of the energy of the Council has gone since 1959. First New Jersey and Connecticut found some things they did not like about the existing New York statute. They asked that it be amended, and it was. Then Connecticut took quite a while (they're very deliberate) before its legislature passed enabling legislation. And New Jersey took the longest because Governor Meyner never quite made up his mind whether he was for it or aginst it. From New York at times he appeared like Hamlet. But the New Jersey amendments were made in 1962. These were largely technical, but it was important that each local government system in the three states be able to make the kinds of interlocal contracts for research and services that were needed. That was finally accomplished in 1962 but membership, (i.e., actual legal joining) has been quite slow in the year since a series of factors has slowed down the process. One of these is that, for most of the elected officials in the region, the Metropolitan Regional Council is not a high priority item, it is not at the top of their list of worries and concerns. And even when it is reached by them, it is not an issue about which they feel a great sense of urgency; it is one of the things that can be put off until tomorrow. There is that part. Then there is also the fear on the part of some that the Metropolitan Regional Council will be dominated by New York City because approximately half of the people in the region live in the city. All the proposals -- the Regional Plan

Association proposal, the Metsker Committee proposal, the inter-local agreements -- all make the votes of the member governments equal. So New York would have one vote, not one-half the votes; it would have 1/45 of the votes if there are forty-five members. The critics, or those who fear the system, often say this does not make any sense; there must be a trick somewhere; New York City would not agree to this kind of an arrangement. But actually New York City has agreed. There is also the fact that entry into these formal agreements has been opposed often because of factional political battles in the counties or cities. It became a factional issue in Westchester. It became a factional issue in Suffolk County, New York, But in most of the member governments the problem has been to get it to be an issue, to get it to be something to be acted upon. This points to one of the serious problems about the metropolitan regional problem everywhere in the country, and that is that existing local governments are very cautious, indeed verging on hostility, toward any joint operations with any bite, or any size, or any real substance. They constitute what Scott Greer has called "the machine of the incumbents." The machine of the incumbent officials tends to be skittish, if not hostile, about such arrangements. And so it requires a great deal of patience, a great deal of effort, and a lot of time to get even this kind of modest metropolitan agency underway.

There has been some progress elsewhere. In the San Francisco Bay area, the Association of Bay Area Governments is further along in having a strong research, advisory, and recommending area agency. This is possible in part because that area lies entirely within the boundaries of one state and so doesn't have all the complicated problems of three governors, three legislatures, three different state statutes required for most things. In the District of Columbia comparable progress has been made to that in San Francisco. The Detroit Inter-County Council of Supervisors, the Oregon Valley Regional Council, and the Seattle Council are other examples. These are regional councils, some half dozen of them, which are farther along than is the New York metropolitan region. And this is to be explained only in part by the fact that our problem is more complicated than others. It is also due to the fact, I think, that the top elected officials in the three States here have not yet given this any high priority.

What are the future prospects, then, of this Metropolitan Regional Council? I have not dwelt on the need for such a coordinating, consultative, recommending body because I have assumed that this point has been made in preceding discussions. But I shall simply say that it seems to me there is great need, greater need in fact in this region than in most other metropolitan regions in the country for some such common approach. I believe that the developments of the future lie down one of two roads. I do not believe things will continue as they are now. Either the Metropolitan Regional Council will get, let us say, forty of the forty-five eligible members to join up and thus become approximately what the Metsker Committee proposed, and so do for this region what the San Francisco Council, the Washington, D. C. Council, the Detroit Council are doing for their regions -- either that will happen, or the Tri-

State Transportation Commission, about which Dr. Ronan talked to you recently, will become the alternative. The Tri-State Transportation Commission is primarily concerned with transportation, but the proposals and its interests run beyond transportation. They run clearly to planning and they can easily, within the range of the proposed legislation, include other problems such as most of those that now are being considered by the standing committees of the Regional Council.

The difference between the two paths and a decision between them is one which the leaders of the region will either consider consciously or by default. Either path, it seems to me, is considerably better than the present road we are on. The Tri-State Transportation Commission is not a local government agency; its leadership is not local -- it is state. If the alternative we use is the Tri-State Commission, then we will have in effect said that the local governments cannot work together to solve this problem; the state governments have to do it. The Tri-State Transportation Commission would be composed of four members appointed by each of the three governors; the Director of the New York City Planning Commission (because that is the largest local government) and three representatives of the federal government (the head of the Housing and Home Finance Agency and two others). In other words, three federal appointees, twelve state appointees, and one local government appointee. The Metropolitan Regional Council, by contrast, has been saying since 1956 the preferred alternative is that the local governments do it themselves under permissive state statutes permitting interlocal agreement and action.

I think it is most probable that we will not stand still -- I think we cannot stand still -- as we cannot live with the present decentralized 1400 government system without some kind of an umbrella or coordinator. What we will choose between, I think, is a regional institution directed from the state capitals, or a regional institution directed from the local government level. There are no revolutionary differences between these two. I have a slight preference, but not a large preference, for the local government approach. But I am also willing to agree with those who would point out that the Metropolitan Regional Council has had seven years in which to make progress at the local government level, and that, although a lot of progress has been made, the progress made in the last three years as compared with the first four is quite modest.

# *The Urban County and its Role in Metropolitan Planning*

Alastair McArthur

In approaching the subject of the role of the urban county in metropolitan planning, I feel just a little bit like a mosquito in a nudist colony. I know what to do, but I don't know where to begin. Perhaps I should begin by pointing out that I do not mean to pass myself off as a professional planner, or even as an expert on county government. But I am a student of government and politics, particularly county government and county politics, and I do have some observations and opinions about county government and county planning which I would like to pass along to you this evening. I should note that these observations are drawn from nation-wide trends and developments; they are not based upon the study of any particular local situation, and they may or may not apply in any individual community.

As recently as ten years ago mourners at the county graveside were predicting that the county -- the so-called dark continent of American government -- had outlived its usefulness. To them the word "county" conjured up a vision of fat politicians sitting around a pot-bellied stove spraying tobacco juice into a copper spittoon and plotting how to grease the political machine. Today these same people would be astounded to find the county providing such urban services as county-wide police and fire protection, trash removal, sewage collection and treatment, and actively encouraging and administering county industrial development programs, and even county urban renewal programs. Quietly counties are assuming responsibility for parking, traffic control, libraries, park and recreational facilities, airports, community colleges, mental health clinics, hospitals, and urban transportation and planning. Perhaps the key to our governmental future is the word "planning." And increasingly Americans are turning to the county to plan the orderly development of their urban communities. I shall have more to say about this later.

These new functions that the counties are assuming have made them one of the fastest growing forms of government in the country. In October of 1962 (and these are the latest figures available), U.S. counties employed 764,000 persons full-time. This is an increase of 54% from 498,000 ten years earlier. Now in the same period, city payrolls grew only 27%, from the 1,175,000 to nearly 1,496,000 -- and mind you, there are only 3,043 counties while there are almost 18,000 cities and towns. County expenditures exceeded 7.4 billion at the last count in fiscal 1962. This is an increase of 76% in seven years. By comparison, the population has been increasing at an annual rate of about 1.75%.

Now, if we are to understand what has really happened and what is likely to happen to county government, we must first understand the exact manner in which America is urbanizing. We can truthfully describe the last decade as one of urban boom and central city bust.

For the first time in our history, over a third of the central cities of the United States, i.e. 73 out of 257 of our metropolitan areas, lost population between 1950 and 1960. Of the top 50 cities in our country, 25 lost population; and of the top 12 cities, 11 of them lost population during the last decade. Conversely, suburban growth in the metropolitan areas in the last ten years has accounted for two-thirds of the total population increase in the United States. Furthermore, it is projected by 1980, (or perhaps sooner), that of a 90 million increase of population in metropolitan areas, only one-fourth is likely to go into metropolitan cities, and three-fourths of this explosive growth is going into suburbia, exurbia, and off into interurbia.

Refining population shifts still more, we find that the problem as seen from the viewpoint of the various interests in a typical urban area are quite complex. Those in the central city find that the new residents of the central city are generally the very young with large, school-age families; the very old; minority groups; and in general the less well-to-do portions of the population -- those which in general require the greatest number of the most expensive governmental services. By the same token, those whom the college professors like to call the "leader group," i.e. the professional people and leading businessmen and industrialists, have fled to the suburbs. And with them have gone the new shopping centers, more expensive homes, and other taxable wealth needed to pay for the expensive governmental services.

But the suburbs are not without their troubles too. Those who move there would like to live in the country, but they want big-city services. They want a modern library system, first-rate schools, public health facilities, parks and recreation, and above all a decent transportation system that will get them into the central city and around the suburbs. Urban sprawl thus makes the per unit cost of these services prohibitive. They often incorporate, but they unwisely exclude industrial and commercial development and create unbalanced communities that cannot survive financially. State legislatures have allowed small, uneconomical, what we night call "snob" incorporations, to the point where the typical metropolitan area has about ninety units of local government. Such fragmentation obviously mitigates against any concrete community leadership.

People in the entire metropolitan area are increasingly aware that urban sprawl and downtown neighborhood blight are the result of poor or non-existent area planning. Water supplies in many communities are uncertain. Finding ways and means of disposing of sewerage and refuse is a perpetual crisis. No one seems to be developing a sound area-wide highway and mass transportation plan. No allowances are being made for the retention and preservation of open spaces, and in most metropolitan areas recreational facilities are inadequate. In general, the very fragmentation of government in these large urban complexes is causing a growing lack of confidence in the existing governmental machinery and structural arrangements.

One of the basic approaches to the problem of urbanization is the expansion of state and federal governmental activities in these metropolitan areas. But America traditionally has been wed to the concept that people should do as much for themselves

as they possibly can, and that activities which must be undertaken by government should be undertaken by that government which is closest to their home community. Therefore, many people see in the further expansion of state and federal government action in the local government field, a threat that the central government will be so enmeshed in matters that might better be handled at the local level that the national machinery will not function well in dealing with our overall national, economic, and world affairs which of course are the sole concern of the national government.

Still another school of thought holds that metropolitan problems are best solved on a function to function basis with the creation of area-wide authorities which would have the power to levy and collect taxes, issue bonds, condemn land, and exercise many of the powers and responsibilities of democratic government. While I can cite a great number of instances where public authorities have performed governmental functions in an outstanding manner -- notably the New York Port Authority -- there is the overriding concern that the creation of more piecemeal units of government only complicates further the problem of area-wide coordination and removes control of government one more step from the voting citizens.

Many students of government argue that the single best way to solve the dilemma of government in the metropolitan area is to allow the central cities to annex surrounding unincorporated areas upon initiative of the central city, and without vote or referendum of the area to be annexed. In the first place, this approach has in most instances the enthusiastic, whole-hearted opposition of those to be annexed. Many question whether people who are forced to become citizens of a governmental unit not of their choosing will make good citizens. In the largest number of metropolitan areas, the areas that could benefit the most from annexation have already incorporated and are, for all practical purposes, immune to this annexation to the central city. In many instances, too, the suburbanites have been content to pay lower taxes and receive a much lower level of government services. If these areas are annexed to the central city and must pay central city taxes, then they also demand a great increase in the level of their services. In many instances the central city officials conclude that the initial cost of providing schools, sewers, streets, roads, and other improvements is so high as to make annexation unwise even from the point of the central city.

The problems of the central city, based as they are on its shrinking tax base and decreasing population plus the normal workings of human nature, often lead municipal officials to proposals to make selective annexations of power plants, shopping centers, industrial parks, and other areas that have high tax potential and relatively lower demands for high-cost services. Undoubtedly such selective annexation leaves the people in the adjacent suburban areas without a decent tax base to provide themselves with badly needed services.

Then there are those who advocate that we need a level of supergovernment to be interposed between the state and national governments and the locality. These advocates argue that existing units

of government are inadequate, and that we must create genuine metropolitan governments. To date the voters have indicated a great reluctance to create this form of local government organization. Today the only metropolitan governments in existence in the United States are Dade County, Florida, and Davidson County, (Nashville) Tennessee -- and mind you, both are county governments, reorganized and revitalized. I think it is safe to say that there is no indication at the present moment of any strong feeling on the part of the voters to create any new metropolitan governments in the United States.

I have dwelt rather overlong on the various approaches to the urban problem and of the entrance of counties into these areas, because I want to emphasize several important points. The expansion of county governments through providing municipal-type functions is proceeding on the basis of the county assuming one function at a time. Also, in no instance is the impetus to expand county government into new areas coming from the county officials themselves, except in response to pressure from citizens or public officials. Quite the reverse is actually true. Many feel that the counties are being too conservative and that perhaps they should take the lead in these metropolitan areas. Now what I am saying is that the expansion of county government is not anything like a power grab by county officials to enhance their own prestige. Likewise, we see no danger at all that counties will replace municipalities. County officials, by and large, are dedicated to the idea that if municipalities are discharging their functions to everyone's satisfaction, then there is no reason for counties to get involved. Most county officials complaining privately that they are put upon by municipal officials who ask the county to take over responsibility for unpopular functions such as the licensing and regulation of dogs. Experience has taught them that if they regulate the dogs, the dog lovers are up in arms; and if they don't, the garden lovers are unhappy -- so they can't win. Now a few years ago, on the occasion of his birthday, former Senator Theodore Green of Rhode Island was aked by a newspaper reporter how it felt to live to be ninety years old. He replied that it wasn't bad, particularly when he considered the alternative. After considering all other alternatives, I would like to submit the reasons why the county possesses the inherent natural advantages to deal with metropolitan problems.

The first of these is geographic extent. The jurisdictional area of the county comes closest of all present local government units to encompassing the urban area of our metropolitan areas. Of the 212 standard metropolitan areas in the United States, 133 are located within one county, and 61 include only two or three counties. To put it another way, the 113 million people who live in metropolitan areas are governed by 18,000 units of local government other than the county. By the same token, these 113 million people all reside in and are governed by 310 counties. While the small suburban town or village is much more likely to see its interests in provincial terms, the county is large enough and sufficiently diverse enough within its own boundaries for its leaders to understand the interdependence of all units within the region.

The second strength or advantage of the county is its political accountablility and governmental position within the state-local

system. Counties are the basic units of organization for political parties, and every citizen of the county, (with a few minor exceptions), whether he resides in a city, town, village, township, or unincorporated area, is served by his county, pays taxes to his county, and through the election process elects and controls his county officials. Also, the state agent role of the county, so often cited as an obstacle to county initiative, gives it leverage with the state in obtaining state help in the performance of those functions which it undertakes. The same holds true at the federal level. Increasingly our national agricultural, public welfare, and road programs are generally administered at the local level by counties. It is obviously very much easier for the national government to deal with 50 states and 3,043 counties than with the nearly 100,000 smaller units of government.

Possibly the county's greatest strength is its broad revenue base. If a new industry locates outside a central city, it is not taxable by the city; but regardless of where it locates within a county, again with certain minor exceptions, it is taxable by the county. The same inequality in the distribution of life-giving business and industry applies in the suburbs, where you often find two townships side by side, one with a great deal of industry and one without, creating a tremendous differential in the citizen tax burden to support schools and other services. Acknowledging the advantages inherent in such a broad tax base, municipal officials are increasingly taking the lead in asking the county to assume responsibility for airports, sewage disposal, water supply, civil defense, transportation, and other services which have been provided and subsidized by the central city residents, but which benefit people of the entire county area. There seems to be a growing acceptance on the part of counties to administer and finance these area-wide functions. In other words, they are agreeing to go along with this.

There is also a clear trend developing to establish very flexible service districts within the county where the burden of cost is adjusted to reflect the costs of the services which are received, plus an allowance for equal sharing of the general cost of county government such as elections, education, courts, and welfare services. In this way the residents of the urban area of the county receives and pays directly to the county for such special services as water supply, sewerage disposal, refuse collection, fire protection, and possibly recreation, while at the same time his fellow county citizen who lives on a farm and has no need for these services is placed outside the special service districts and his tax load is adjusted accordongly.

Now the $64 question: is the county ready to assume major administrative responsibilities in metropolitan areas? I have to say in many cases, yes, but generally speaking counties need a great deal of reorganization and streamlining. An analogy will best illustrate one of the reasons for this. You might recall that Mr. Gianini started out to be fruit peddler on the streets of San Francisco. He started loaning small sums to his friends, and later started a bank; and then many banks, until his Bank of America became one of the most powerful financial institutions in the world. Now it isn't hard to see that the organization he needed when he sold fruit and the organization he needed when he presided over a

financial empire were vastly different. So it is with counties. Some perform simple functions and have no need for complexity; others have vastly outgrown their humble beginnings, and yet the structure stays. Indeed, in many states it is riveted on by constitutional mandate. Now I must confess that I have never really understood the basic governmental theory under which counties were created: the concept that executive, legislative, and judicial functions should be separate and distinct is clear at the federal, state, and municipal level. Yet the three functions are mixed at the county level. County officials who daily operate with this obsolete administrative machinery know full well that we must reorganize our counties if our counties are to attain the bright future now predicted for them. They know that we must reduce the number of independent county boards and commissions; they know we must also oppose the creation of special districts and authorities that are independent of popular control; and I underline that: independent of popular control. And they know we must establish an elected or appointed executive who is responsible for the overall direction of the county government. The nation has a president. States have governors. Cities have mayors. But counties for the most part do not have a single executive head. But perhaps the most significant step in the direction of a viable urban government has been taken by those counties which have established the office of chief executive. Such an executive builds into the governmental structure a county-wide point of view. Six of the ten counties with a population of over one million now have a chief executive, as do thirteen of the 34 counties in the 500,000 to 1,000,000 population group and thirteen of the 47 in the 250 to 500,000 class, while only 21 of the remaining 134 counties over 100,000 have such an executive.

The newest and most interesting trend is toward an elected executive comparable to a strong city mayor. To date nine counties have adopted this position. I think it's interesting to know that six of them are right here in our neighboring state of New York, where the counties of Erie, Onondaga, Oneida, Westchester, Suffolk, and Nassau now elect their county executives.

Some reorganization plans have attempted to eliminate the elected judges, clerks, recorders, treasurers, sheriffs, auditors, assessors, and coroners. I think this approach is to waste the troops needlessly, and it usually fails. Perhaps if we were creating county government from scratch we would appoint rather than elect these officials. They have, however, been long established in the public mind, and the incumbents usually have long tenure and a strong political following. If the positions were appointive, the incumbents more than likely would get the job. These positions were created by the state and the incumbents administer important state-wide functions such as elections, property assessment, justice, and record keeping. In many respects these are state officers, and the state legislature establishes state-wide administrative policy.

Now it is an acknowledged fact that we need to have the state establish state-wide policies for the administration of things that have a state-wide importance, but we need a free hand at the local

level to handle the administrative details. County reorganization must be aimed at creating a genuine home-rule local government. The state must provide the counties authority to undertake new local government functions, and it must provide adequate means to finance these new undertakings. County home rule brings with it the delightful sense of power, the power of self-determination. It also brings with it the sobering sense of responsibility that comes with the realization that power of home rule has been granted. With home rule will come freedom to do a job well in our counties, but with it it will bring the inescapable obligation to do just that.

Now although the county was not designated to serve urban purposes, it is gradually adjusting itself structurally in terms of power to meet these needs. And probably the most encouraging development along this line is the establishment of county planning units to head up planning for the entire metropolitan area. A recent survey showed that out of 263 urban counties polled, 66%, or 221 counties, report that they have set up some kind of planning agency. The same survey discloses that 61% of all counties over 100,000 do have planning agencies, and about three-fourths of those counties over a half a million also have such an agency.

Again, it makes sense to have the county do the overall planning for the metropolitan area, due to its broad jurisdictional area and its political and governmental position in the federal-state-local system. Traditionally small jurisdictions -- villages, towns, townships and other units -- try to zone their land in order to improve their fiscal base. The result is often over-zoning for industrial and commercial activity, and a location pattern inconsistent with regional needs. Further, the cost of providing government services to the commercial and industrial residents is often transferred by the jurisdiction possessing the industrial or commercial establishment to the neighboring jurisdictions. It is quite possible for a jurisdiction zoned only for very high income homes to attract an industrial plant. The workers in this plant, unable to afford the homes within the jurisdiction in which the plant is located, will have to live elsewhere. The cost of providing the public services, education for example, will have to be borne by a jurisdiction which gains no fiscal advantages from the new economic activity. And this represents one of the fundamental causes of bad planning within our metropolitan areas, and further emphasizes the interdependence of our cities and our counties. No one city or group of cities can effectively exercise leadership in the coordination of planning programs of mutual concern between the various cities, or between the city and the unincorporated area. This leadership role must rest with the county, for it is the duty of the county to lay the guide lines for cities yet to come and assist in the growth of cities already in existence.

The logical question that follows is where does county planning stop and local planning take over? The combination of the two is simply a matter of going from the general to the particular. For obvious reasons the county should do the general planning. Who does the local planning after the general plan is completed depends on the municipalities. If the county planning agency has built up a sufficient understanding at the local level, then the municipalities

will hire their own planners and take over. Preferably the municipalities should join together and plan for logical economic or physical areas, rather than for just the land that lies within one political unit. If, however, as often happens they are too full of ancient rivalries or not yet alive to the need for planning, then the county will have to refine its general plans to a level almost comparable to local planning. Assuming, however, that each level of government is informed both as to the need for planning and the logical area to be planned jointly, then the county should be concerned only with major areas and major elements of services. The county plans should show only large industrial, commercial, and residential areas, parks and public lands usually administered by federal, state, and county agencies, federal and state primary highways, trunk sewers and sewage treatment plants, and water transmission and water treatment plants. The local planners should take over at that point and determine the exact degree of use for each piece of property; the location and size of playfields, playgrounds, schools, etc.; the location and type of county and municipal roads and streets; and the approximate location and sizes of the small sewers and service loops for water.

Working together, city and county planners can provide the coordinated direction that is needed to develop comprehensive plans for the general development of our metropolitan areas. They can provide the frame work that is necessary for orderly area development, and they must provide the cooperative spirit necessary if we are to ever achieve the potential envisioned for our metropolitan areas.

To sum up, then, the county has much promise as the key to unlocking the problems of urban America. New functions and new responsibilities call for careful review of county structure and organization to gear it to its new role. But we believe that the county, which in a quieter day reflected the American philosophy that the government that governs the least governs best, will rise to the stormy present and accept the challenge left to it by President John F. Kennedy when he told county officials that "It is clear that our city governments cannot always assume the sole responsibility for the solution of present urban problems. I repeat, they cannot, our state governments will not, the federal government should not, and therefore you on the county level must: It is up to the counties and similar area governments to play a more important role in the solution of these urban problems." Times are changing, and we in county government are trying to change with them.

# *Decision-Making In Metropolitan Areas*

John E. Bebout

I enjoy being here, partly because for many years I lived just over the hill on the edge of what might have become the Morris County jetport. The Bebout family first came to this area some time before the Revolution, and the family farm was on Long Hill until about the end of the First World War. I was brought up next door to the farm. If anybody had predicted to me then that I would be director of a so-called Urban Studies Center, I would have said he was crazy, because I was a country boy. I thought I was going to be, if not a farmer, at least an agricultural agent. And so when I went to college, I went to the agricultural college. Somewhere along the line I drifted into history and political science, and finally into being something in the nature of an "urban agent," rather than an agricultural agent. This drift may be illustrative of what has happened to our society in one very short lifetime -- from the horse-and-buggy age to the jet age.

I take it that my function is to be sort of a mop-up man after the other lecturers. Knowing most of the others, and trying to imagine what they said, I have had a good deal of difficulty figuring out what I could say that might be new or different. If, then, this turns out to be little more than a summary, recalling some of what has been said before, perhaps it will highlight basic trends and problems and point up possibilities for future action.

We have in the United States the most complicated system of government in the free world. This is true in terms not only of the number of separate units, local and state, but also of the number of levels of government (municipal, county, state, national), and of the system of checks and balances among the legislative, executive, and judicial departments. The complexity of this system is raised to its highest level in metropolitan areas. This intricate fractionization, Frank C. Moore, former Lieutenant Governor of New York, has pointed out, leads to "frictions and frustrations" in the entire governmental process, including decision-making. This in turn contributes to a kind of defeatism which leads many people to deny or to try to avoid responsiblity for area-wide public policy through non-participation in metropolitan affairs. Many seek escape by moving from the core city or the old suburbs to a nice rustic suburb like Madison, or a still more rustic suburb like Mendham. Sooner or later, of course, such people discover there is no permanent escape. For example, some organization like the Port Authority comes along with a plan to set a jetport down over the next hill.

That most Americans today live in cities or in metropolitan communities which are constantly expanding and blending into one another is too well known to require statistical demonstration here.

One of the East Coast, for example, we have what I am sure others in this series have called "megalopolis" or "spread city," which stretches from Portland, Maine, to Norfolk, Virginia. Population

projections indicate that this process of growth and merging is almost certain to continue for a long time. I confess to being a little skeptical about predictions of crowding ourselves off the planet. I recall that only a few years ago people were decrying the supposed failure of Americans to have enough children to maintain an adequate population to compete in the modern world. There are styles in the matter of size of families and the multiplication of the human race. They change less rapidly than the styles of women's clothes, but I am not convinced that we shall necessarily be quite so crowded in the year 2000 as many of the population experts suggest. However, a little simple arithmetic applied to the people already here will indicate that we are going to be a great deal more crowded than we are now even if styles in family size were to change radically over night. So this megalopolitan trend is going to continue and the problems that result from it or are associated with it are going to become compounded.

The topic assigned to me, as indicated by the title, assumes that there is or should be a conscious process of decision-making directed toward shaping the metropolitan future. We know that the future -- one's personal future or the future of a society -- is affected by all kinds of decisions, by many different people. Our concern is that metropolitan decision-making by whatever persons, be aimed as intelligently as possible at the development of a better life in urban America.

Purposeful decision-making that focuses on metropolitan needs is beset with difficulties. This is basically because of the complexity of metropolitan society, the large numbers of people and agencies making decisions and the lack of any effective metropolitan intelligence system, let alone controls, for guiding or monitoring decisions with reference to their area-wide effects. A rather mundane example will illustrate the unintended side effects of many simple decisions. A few years ago "No Parking" signs appeared on some streets, and parking meters in other areas, for several blocks around the railroad stations in a nearby town. The town fathers had decided in their wisdom that there was no sense in allowing people, especially people from other towns, to use their streets as a free garage during the day, so they were going to try to get a little revenue out of this business. The town obtained a little revenue, but the town and a much larger segment of metropolis obtained some other things as well: a shift of passengers from rails to private cars and buses, resultant increased traffic congestion at various places, and a tougher fight against the next petition of the railroad to cut service. Here was a case of a decision, perfectly rational in terms of a limited frame of reference, but highly questionable in the context of the larger system, of which the town was a part. It is possible to identify literally thousands of decisions taken every day by public bodies, by private corporations, by voluntary organizations, by individuals, which affect the shape of the metropolitan future, compounding or simplifying the transportation problem or one or more other problems.

As has already been pointed out, the governments of virtually all of our metropolitan communities are highly fractionated. Most of these communities consist not of one government, but of dozens,

scores, even hundreds of governments. Robert Wood, one of the speakers in this series, wrote a book with the title 1400 Governments, which is a rough estimate of the number of separate political entities in the New York metropolitan area alone.

A similar fractionization exists in the metropolitan community's voluntary organizations and private corporations. Since volunteer organizations tend to be organized along municipal lines, there are many more welfare councils and similar organizations than are actually needed. The results include both overlaps and gaps in the performance of functions, with needless waste, competition and inefficiency. There are exceptions which have managed to transcend municipal boundary lines -- certain united funds and welfare councils for example. Private businesses like the Telephone Company and United Parcel Service have developed still more rational service areas, but the fact remains that private organizations tend toward fractionization, more or less along local and state boundary lines.

How much simpler it would be if many of the decisions affecting metropolitan life could be handled by some institutional device or arrangement which embraced the entire metropolitan area. One example of this type of simplification has recently been instituted in London, where Parliament adopted an act replacing the London County Council with the Greater London Council, exercising jurisdiction over most of what is now the actual metropolis of London, embracing all or parts of several counties. Boroughs within this greater city perform certain specific functions, while the Greater London Council performs others deemed to be of metropolitan-wide importance.

There is no such simple way to create the metropolis of Greater New York, the metropolis of Northeast Jersey or even, for that matter, the metropolis of New Brunswick. The explanation is that we simply do not permit our state legislatures, whether for constitutional or for traditional reasons, to exercise such drastic power to reorganize local governments.

Most attempts to achieve anything comparable to the Greater London Council have been abortive. One recent example was the defeat of an amendment to the Missouri Constitution to create a city of Greater St. Louis by consolidating the City of St. Louis and St. Louis County. A little less than a hundred years ago, the city was separated from the county so that there was only one unit of government in the city. Apparently, no one foresaw that within a few generations the urbanized section would sprawl out over the entire county, and even beyond over county and state lines.

One of the few successes in simplifying metropolitan governmental structure was the merger a few years ago of Baton Rouge and East Baton Rouge Parish, which are now governed by a joint council. For certain purposes, the city and the outlying area are treated differently while area-wide matters are dealt with uniformly by the city-parish council. Still another success story is the recent consolidation of Nashville and Davidson County in Tennessee. This consolidation has features that resemble the Baton Rouge arrangement.

The highly publicized Miami-Dade County consolidation amounts

essentially to the use of the county, which substantially embraces the metropolitan area, as the overall government. Orher urban areas, which are largely contained within a single county, might profitably follow Dade County's example, with an extension of their powers and responsibilities for some purposes, and a distribution of functions among municipalities for others. This would not, however, offer a complete solution for the increasing number of metropolitan areas that are spilling over into several counties.

Most students of metropolitan problems have concluded that, while some of the foregoing attempts to simplify the decision-making process are valuable in certain suitable areas, they are inadequate or unavailable as solutions to the problems confronting most of our larger and more complex metropolitan areas. The idea, for instance, of creating a genuine metropolitan government of Greater New York, embracing all of the metropolitan counties in New Jersey and New York State, and Fairfield County in Connecticut is for the foreseeable future probably out of the question, even if the government were strictly limited to such crucial metropolitan functions as transportation and pollution control. Obviously, other methods will have to be found to relate decision-making more effectively to the needs of metropolitan communities generally.

An example of such another method is the Regional Plan Association, a voluntary planning group that has been operating in the Greater New York area for nearly 40 years. Existing with no governmental authority and with modest expenditures, it has had, nevertheless, a great impact on the area's physical development. The region's present system of major highways, including the Narrows Bridge and river crossings, is substantially the one proposed by the Regional Plan Association some 30 years ago. Recently the RPA has undertaken a massive reassessment of the area's development prospects and has been trying to engage an increasingly larger number of citizens in an intellectual dialogue on possible goals for the region.

Similar voluntary planning associations exist elsewhere, exercising considerable influence on metropolitan development. One of the most successful of these is the Allegheny conference on Community Development, which operates in the Pittsburgh-Allegheny County metropolitan area. One of the reasons for its outstanding success is that Pittsburgh is one of the few metropolitan communities with an identifiable power structure, which includes owners and top managers of its major industries.

Another approach to the problem of making decisions in a metropolitan context is a voluntary association of local governments. In the New York area, there is the Metropolitan Regional Council. A similar group in the San Francisco region is known as ABAG, the Association of Bay Area Governments. There are also Philadelphia's Regional Council of Elected Officials, and the Washington Council of Governments in the national Capital area, and others. Most of these are more vigorous and effective at the moment than the New York Council. Despite the frustrations and frictions that it has encountered, I am convinced that a council of governments is a fruitful approach to urban problems, although it is certainly no panacea.

I should like to turn now to the problems created by our multiplicity of governmental levels. The classical notion of federalism was a kind of layer cake concept: certain powers were delegated to the national government and the remainder reserved to the states, which in turn, delegated certain powers to counties and municipalities. According to this model, everything was neatly arranged like the Newtonian universe, with a kind of judicial gravitational system, keeping each government in its place and thus maintaining the proper order and balance.

In a simpler age, when government fulfilled fewer and less important functions, this layer cake conception may have had some, although limited, validity, because there was less continuing involvement of one level of government in the activities of another. But in the last two or three generations, we have come to recognize what we call "cooperative federalism," because most important governmental programs are shared by several levels of government, so that activities carried on by one level are tied or related closely to activities of the others. Moreover, almost every governmental function or service is so related to several others (health, housing, and welfare, for example) that one cannot operate properly without continual reference and relationship to the others. This interdependence of both governmental levels and functions is intensified in areas of concentrated population and it has caused increasing concern about the interrelationships among a host of national, state, and local decisions, policies, and programs.

Not only is there inadequate communication between one level of government and another, but there is frequently poor communication between departments in the same government. In an experimental effort to improve interdepartmental cooperation, the late President Kennedy created the Federal Executive Boards. He directed that the various federal agencies in a metropolitan area organize a central coordinating committee. While they began by collaborating solely on housekeeping functions in order to save money and manpower, they may gradually become involved in policy functions.

Difficult as it is to coordinate federal agencies, it is sometimes harder to coordinate state bodies that have an impact on the same community and the same problem. Instead of a single Department of Health, Education and Welfare, we have in New Jersey a Department of Health, a Department of Education, and a Department of Institutions and Agencies. There is a Division for the Aging in the Secretary of State's Office, and other welfare functions are scattered in still other places.

This multiplicity of government agencies is matched, if not exceeded, by the multiplicity of private volunteer agencies seeking to do good in the metropolitan community according to their respective lights. The difficulty of communication and coordination among public and private agency efforts is intensified by the way in which separate professions have developed in the fields of health, welfare, education, engineering, and planning. Each of these professions tends jealously to guard its own assumed area of interest and expertise. While professional spirit may facilitate communication up and down the ladder or levels of government in such specific program areas as health and welfare, it tends to impede

horizontal collaboration among them at the metropolitan or, indeed, the municipal level.

It is not surprising, therefore, that attempts to establish conversation among the diverse agencies that have an impact on the same community are still very much in their infancy. The fact that we are constantly frustrated by the difficulty of the effort does not preclude the possibility of some success over time. We must expect progress to be slow, but we must continue to look for better ways to make some metropolitan sense out of crucial decisions made in a pluralistic and fragmented institutional structure. One of the methods now receiving increasing attention is official regional planning. Pending before Congress are bills designed to force the undertaking of regional planning under the threat that certain federal monies will be withheld from programs in metropolitan communities that do not have official regional planning agencies by a predetermined date. There is every likelihood that one of these bills will be passed within the next year or two.

But the nagging question remains: What good is regional planning if it is not related to some regional authority that can execute the plans? If the planning agency is well staffed, it can provide a solid fund of information for sound decisions by the governmental units which have the authority to act. But if regional planning is to be really effective, it must be geared into a system with the disposition and power to guide development with a view to metropolitan needs. Development of such a system or systems is one of the great social needs of the century.

Let me suggest one possible approach. Three large program areas shared by national, state, and local governments have a profound effect on social as well as physical development. One is environmental health, which is concerned with water supply and the control of land, water, and air pollution. Another is transportation. The third is housing and urban renewal. If only these three programs could be planned and executed in sensible relation to one another, they would exert a powerful positive influence on metropolitan development and the quality of life for all urban citizens. So far, we have found no ready mechanism to achieve such a result. The need is a clear challenge to political invention and civic daring.

The nation and the world are confronted by two, possibly three, dynamic forces that will greatly influence the pace and nature of future metropolitan development. They will put our capacity for injecting some order and intelligence into that development to the severest test. The first two forces are population change and automation. The third, only a possiblity as yet, but ultimately inevitable if civilized society is to survive, is world peace. These forces offer the potential of tremendous good, but improperly understood and poorly managed, they could destroy us.

Let us look at just one aspect of population growth and movement. For the next few decades, at least, people who are unwanted or unneeded in older rural areas will be increasing and moving into the urban areas, especially into the older central cities. (Within a very few years, Newark, for example, could become a Negro city.) Unfortunately, many of these people, because of their depressed backgrounds, are culturally deprived; they are unattuned to modern urban life. And because they are huddled together, their problems both

multiply and are magnified.

The cities in which they concentrate, by the very fact of their concentration, become increasingly unable to develop them, to improve their competence, their ambitions and their life prospects through education and welfare services. And our traditional, parochial concept of home rule, couples with the inability of most state governments to develop strong, affirmative policies on difficult issues, makes these masses of underprivileged and deprived persons a dangerous threat to all society.

On the other hand, if we could regard this potential menace as an opportunity rather than a nuisance, we would realize that this same concentration could be an advantage -- by allowing us to give these people the special attention they need to become fully participating members of society and partakers of the American dream. This will not happen, however, unless the people in the Borough of Madison, the Township of Cedar Grove, and the rustic reaches of Sussex County, recognize that the problem is just as much theirs as if they were citizens of Newark or Jersey City.

Automation, the second major influence on the American future, is nowadays taken to embrace all those technological advances that facilitate the production of more and more of the good things of life, at least the good material things, with less and less labor. At the same time it creates a host of problems for government in the areas of education, vocational training, employment, land use, transportation, recreation, even delinquency. These problems call for much more sophisticated public decision-making than was demanded of our ancestors.

The third force, or potential, is peace. The possibility that peace might break out some time between now and the end of the century is perhaps the most terrifying thing, next to destruction by atomic war, presently imaginable. A continuous state of cold war appears essential to maintain even our present state of under-employment, let along full employment.

What powers do we have to deal with these problems, these forces for good or evil? The powers of local government can be largely discounted because they are entirely inadequate for coping with such global forces. I am not advocating the abolition of local government. For one thing, it keeps many hands and brains occupied, a matter of no small importance in an age of automated unemployment. And there are many useful things that can be done as well, better, or almost as well by local governments as by larger units, especially if they are properly related to metropolitan, state, and national needs and goals.

What about state governments? There are only 50 states, compared to 3,000 counties and some 100,000 other local units. While many states make little sense in terms of their areal basis, they are surely here to stay. And they do provide an intermediate level with the power to conduct certain aspects of national programs and to help adapt those programs to local conditions as well as to develop programs of their own. I suggest, therefore, that we, here in New Jersey should think more of our state as an important agent in the vast system of metropolitan decision-making as we seek to

deal with the effects of demographic and technological changes.

For many reasons, the states should be strengthened, yes revived. I say revived, advisedly, because in relation to the magnitude of our problems, the states have retrogressed, even though statistics indicate that they are spending more money, hiring more people and doing more important things every year. The states are constitutionally responsible for the system of local government. The national government can provide leadership through its own programs, subsidize local activities and offer inducements for better coordination of planning and effort, but only the states can alter the system of local government in metropolitan areas, create new agencies for metropolitan decision-making, or, in lieu of that, make and carry out comprehensive area-wide plans on their own authority. The states, then, have the primary responsibility for metropolitan government and the quality of metropolitan decision-making. The effectiveness of much national and local action with respect to metropolitan problems depends in the end on the states. This has been recognized by the National Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations which has made numerous recommendations to the states for improving government in metropolitan areas.

In addition to the power of the various governments, we should pay more attention to the power of knowledge that emanates from our research institutes and universities, especially, from our state universities, which were specifically designed to employ knowledge in the interest of the whole society. We must look to our universities as one of the greatest possible forces for informed and integrated decision-making in our metropolitan communities, and in our society as a whole.

It is with this in mind that the Ford Foundation gave modest grants to Rutgers, Wisconsin and several other universities, to experiment with the urban studies center idea. If the national government in cooperation with the states and their universities, can produce for urban life something similar to the rural program of directed education, research and technical assistance which evolved from the Morrill Act adopted more than a century ago, universities may play an increasingly vital role in making it possible for America to enjoy metropolitan life in an age of abundance and increasing leisure.

The proper application of automation techniques to the collection and analysis of an exploding volume of information should make it not only unnecessary, but actually unfashionable, to make as many public decisions as are now being made in ignorance. In an automated age, in which thousands of facts can be related in a split second, decisions can be brought to a much higher level of sophistication. We must make it politically necessary and proper for national, state, and local policy makers to take full advantage of the improving methods for injecting knowledge into the making of decisions. Having done this, we may have some reason to hope for the ultimate appearance of the New Jerusalem on earth.